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# MAN

**A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE.**

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE  
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE  
OF  
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

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XL.

33497

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1940.

572.05

*Man*

Nos. 1—230.

WITH PLATES A—M.

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Published by

**THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, 21, BEDFORD SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1.**

General Agent: FRANCIS EDWARDS, 83, High Street, Marylebone, W.1.

New York Agents: Messrs. G. E. STECHERT & Co.

And to be obtained at all Booksellers.

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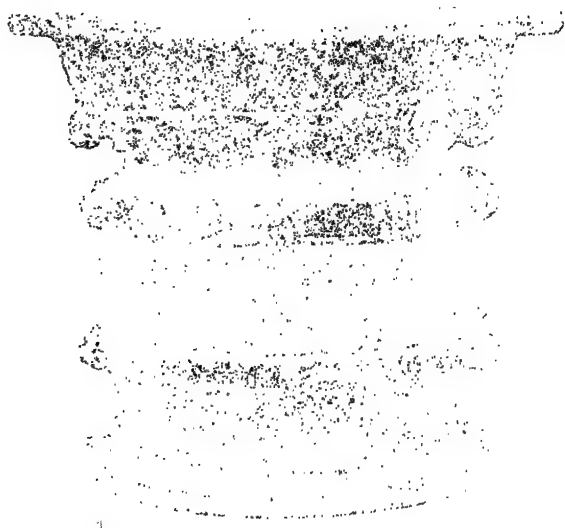


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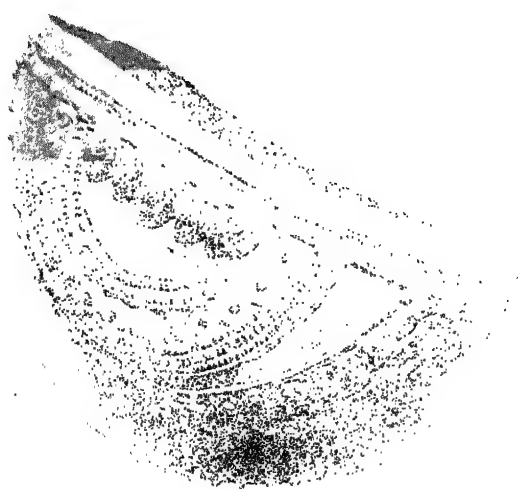
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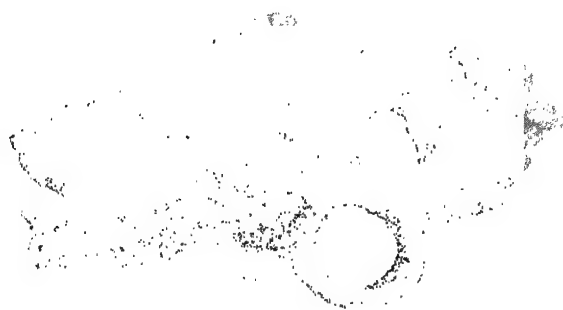
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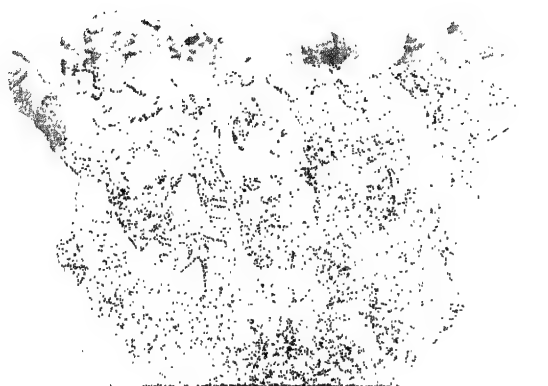
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BRONZE CASTINGS FOUND AT IGBO, SOUTHERN NIGERIA

# MAN

## A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE  
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

XL, 1-22

JANUARY, 1940

### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Southern Nigeria

With Plate A.

Field

**BRONZE CASTINGS FOUND AT IGBO, SOUTHERN NIGERIA.** *By J. O. Field, Assistant District Officer, Onitsha Province, Southern Nigeria. Illustrated.*

**1** The bronze castings described in this note were found at Igbo, Awka Division, Southern Nigeria. They were originally unearthed by a man who was digging a well and only came to my notice some six months after they had been discovered. By that time the well had been filled in, and the collection partially dispersed. Consequently, the details of the actual discovery could only be pieced together afterwards.

The castings appear to have been discovered at a depth of about eight feet in a deep deposit of Benin Sand. The compound, within the walls of which they were found, must have been in existence



FIG. 7.

for at least twenty years. The area has been the site of human habitation for no less than four generations, and possibly longer. The castings are said to have been discovered in a heap, and there is no evidence that they were associated with human remains. They appear, from all that can be gathered, to have been informally buried in the ground.

The technique employed in their manufacture seems to have been the *cire perdue* process, though possibly, rubber latex was used instead of wax. Whatever the process, the degree of skill is remarkably high and an examination of the finished product reveals little evidence of retouching. Most of the objects are covered with a rich green patina, but the details of the decoration are still clearly discernible.

The urn, or brasier (Plate A.1), which has a height of  $10\frac{1}{2}$  inches and a diameter across the top of 8 inches, is the finest piece in the whole collection, and is best described by reference to the illustration. It consists of a shallow bowl with a broad lip, set on a wide hollow stand in which there are a number of slots. It is decorated with a series of 'rosettes' interspaced at intervals with beetles and grasshoppers. The 'rosettes,' although appearing to consist of a number of strands of wire, seem, nevertheless, to be part of the original casting and do not appear to have been subsequently affixed. At the top and at the base is a band of hatched triangles, and in the middle a broad band with a complicated design of rectilinear figures and circles. Both the edge of the lip and the base are decorated with a twisted-cord design.

The bowls fall into two classes: round bowls, of which three have been discovered, and crescent-shaped bowls, of which there are six. The round bowls, the largest of which has a diameter of  $15\frac{1}{4}$  inches and a depth of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches, are characterized by having on one side a small semi-circular handle flanked on either side by a single twisted, conical knob, and on the other side, a number of similar small knobs in a row. The decoration on the largest bowl consists of a series of bands of dots and concentric circles. A middle-sized bowl, which is rather badly damaged, is decorated with a complicated pattern of twisted lines, a smaller one (Fig. 8) is decorated with bands of small loops, set horizontally and vertically. All three show signs of patching.

The crescent-shaped bowls (Plate A.2 and Fig. 11), ranging in size from  $7\frac{1}{2}$  to 5 inches long, show a

similar arrangement of a handle on one side and a row of knobs on the other, but here the handles are flanked by three knobs on either side. In a few of these bowls, both the knobs and the handles have small eyelets from which, possibly, were suspended small, hollow, bell-shaped objects; a number of such objects has been found. These bowls are further characterized by a constriction on either side of the rim, as if the opposite sides had been pinched together. All these bowls are decorated with bands of dots and circles.

There is one little pear-shaped bowl,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, which has the characteristic handle. The pointed end is constricted into a lip and was evidently meant for pouring. It, too, shows very similar decoration.

Two scabbards were found, one very badly damaged, and the other, although in two pieces, in a fair state of preservation. The hilts of neither have so far been found. The one which is best preserved is (Fig. 12) some 18 inches long, curving sharply towards the bottom, and ending in a loop. The main part of the scabbard is decorated with three bands of twisted binding, the strands set fairly wide apart. Below the bottom band the scabbard widens into a number of small, wing-like flanges, and superimposed along the back of these is a lizard, the body of which curves sharply round to form the loop at the end. The head of the lizard is held in the jaws of a snake, the body of which extends along the back of the scabbard and through a flange at the top, where it bends sharply over and ends in another snake's head which is consuming a frog. Just beneath the flange at the top are a number of small metal loops, with a fragment of thread adhering to one, while below these is a larger loop, presumably to allow a cord to be passed through for the purpose of attaching the weapon to the person. The remnants of iron blades are to be seen inside both scabbards.

A hilt, which does not appear to belong to either dagger, has also been found. The grip of this hilt is decorated with holes and raised metal rings, placed alternately. Between some of the rings blue, yellow and amber beads have been threaded and clearly the grip was originally beaded all over. The pommel is a conical spiral, with what appear to be grasshoppers at intervals, and ending at the top with a little mouse. A fragment of what seems to be another hilt, made of twisted wire, was also discovered.



FIG. 8. HEMISPHERICAL BOWL.



FIG. 9. SPIRAL SHELL.



FIGS. 10. MANILLA; 11. CRESCENT-SHAPED BOWL; 12. SCABBARD.

Among the finds were two snail shells which are somewhat dissimilar. The smaller (Fig. 7) rotates in an anti-clockwise direction, and is decorated with a number of ornamental bands. It is surmounted by a rather poor representation of a leopard. The large shell (Fig. 9) rotates clockwise and shows considerable signs of wear, the decoration being in considerably less relief than on any other object. It is decorated all

over with patterns of hatchings, dots, triangles, and wavy lines, with several flies superimposed at random. At the point of the shell are the heads of four snakes, each issuing from a ring, and each holding a frog in its mouth.

There is one human head (Fig. 13) displaying typically negroid features. The face is heavily cicatrized with markings not unlike the *ichi*-markings still to be seen on the face of many Ibo



FIG. 13.

men (cf. Talbot, 'People of Southern Nigeria,' Vol. III, Figs. 167-9, opp. p. 774). The cicatrization on the casting, however, extends lower down the cheek than is common nowadays, while modern *ichi*-marking invariably covers the whole forehead as far as the eyelids and the bridge of the nose. In the casting the eyelids and a considerable portion of the forehead above are left unmarked. Moreover, *ichi*-marking is confined to males, while the elaborate head-dress on the casting suggests that it was intended to represent a female.

There are also two highly conventionalized rams' heads (Plate A.4) with highly ornate twisted horns curving round and back and terminating in small discs set at right-angles to the horns. These heads are decorated with an intricate system of lines and dots and what appear to be flies. One has attached to it on the underside a small fragment of a wire spring. An elephant's head, very ornate (Plate A.3), and two eggs joined together with a crescent-shaped band decorated with flies, and having a bird resting between them, may also be included in this group. The group is characterized by the objects having at the back a fixed, broad ring, with below it an

aperture surrounded by raised metal loops. From traces of wire and, in the case of the eggs, two beads, there is little doubt that from these loops were originally suspended a number of ornaments, possibly the little bell-shaped articles mentioned above. These castings are all about 3 inches in size, and it seems probable that they were used as pendants.

There are three spiral objects, each about 6 inches in length and 4 inches in diameter, the purpose of which I have been unable to ascertain and cannot conjecture. The first (Plate A.5) consists of three coils at either end of which is a snake, holding an egg-shaped object in its mouth, and coiled upon itself to form a slight flange. The three thick coils are decorated with transverse bands of five rows of small raised loops, and between each band is a small round aperture.

The second spiral (Plate A.6) is more ornate, consisting of two snakes twisted together, each termination of the coil ending in two snakes' heads. The coils are decorated with a number of small faces, with the facial markings and elaborate coiffure noted in the case of the single head above. In addition, there are a number of flies and small balls, the latter in groups of three. At either end, just behind the heads of the snakes, is a birdlike animal holding a grasshopper in its beak.

The third spiral has no snakes, but consists of an open criss-cross pattern with a small rosette at each intersection of the bands of metal. Each end of the spiral ends in a flat disc on which are three birds, radiating from the centre of the disc with their beaks overlapping the edge.

Similar to these objects, but not spiral, is a fourth object (Fig. 14), at each end of which are a number of large raised loops alternately interspaced with a conventionalized bird. The whole object is covered with clusters of little raised balls and many small eyelets for the purpose of threading beads. A number of blue, amber, and yellow beads are still attached.

Another peculiar object (Fig. 15) is a massive casting, elaborately ornamented with eyelets, loops, and whorls, and which was also extensively ornamented with coloured beads. Near the top is a series of rings from which emerge small snakes' heads. Above this is a wheel-like flange with a great number of triangular spokes, and on top of this, a wide metal ring. At the base is a



FIG. 14.

remnant of what appears to have been an iron blade.

A hollow ring, about  $6\frac{3}{4}$  inches in diameter, outside measurement, is decorated with a triangulated design, the corners of each triangle being marked with a raised dot. The insides of the triangles are enhanced with rows of small dots. The base and the inner aspect are undecorated, though a number of small concentric circles of varying size, and in relief, are to be seen on the whole surface, apparently placed haphazardly. In the base are four small rectangular apertures. The object was possibly used as a pot stand.

A small, flat, circular ornament, probably a pendant, has the characteristic snake with a head at both ends, each having an egg in its mouth. There are two such snakes intertwined, and a grasshopper in the centre.

A long chain is composed of 18 links varying from about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 inches in length. Each link is made in two parts. The actual link is formed by bending over the ends of a short piece of wire



FIG. 15.

to form a loop at either end with a straight piece in the middle. In some links the ends have been first flattened and then beaten round the straight piece. Around the straight central wires are wound metal spirals. These are loose and can be moved independently of the link itself.

Another class of objects, three in number, consists of a single coiled snake with the head extended and holding an egg in its mouth. In the centre of the spiral is a thin wire, ending in a twisted knob. When first examined, one of these objects had within the spiral formed by the snake a small piece of wood, through which the central wire passed. This suggests that the object had at one time a handle and was possibly a kind of mace. I am uncertain whether these objects were cast or wrought.

Three manillas, of heavy bronze and ornamented with incised concentric circles and rows of punch-marks, were also found. Two of these (Fig. 10) are twisted into the figure-of-eight-shaped 'Aro knot,' an object which was,



according to Basden, "held in great honour by 'the heads of the Aro Chuku people'" (Basden, 'Niger Ibos,' p. 263). A similar design of circles and dots is also employed on a number of thin wire bangles, while other bangles are fashioned with small loops, set in pairs opposite each other. From their general aspect, and the fact that the decoration on the manillas and bangles is incised, it is possible that these are a different industry from the rest. A single iron spear-head was also found.

It is impossible at the moment to determine the origin of this metal work. Although the Awka people are known to have done a little metal casting, it is practically certain they never reached the degree of skill required to fashion any of the objects here described, and although the area in which they were found is on the fringe of Bini influence, it is also improbable that the work was done by Benin craftsmen. The Igbo people are not themselves metal workers, and as far as is known they never have been. The presence of the 'Aro knot' proves, I think, no more than an association with the Aros. It is extremely unlikely that the work is of Aro

Chuku origin, since these people, too, have no reputation as metal workers. As far as can be ascertained, this art is unlike any other to be found in Nigeria, and beyond the fact that it appears to be of African origin, as is evidenced by the features of the human faces, very little can, at this stage, be said about it.

The age of this metal work is also obscure. Nothing comparable to it is to be seen in the surrounding area to-day and the people of the neighbourhood have no recollection of having seen such objects in use. Whatever its actual age, however, it is improbable that it has lain buried for more than a century at the most. The presence of the 'Aro knot' proves some contact with the Aro people, but the earliest tradition of the presence of Aros in this region dates back to the Aro invasion and settlement of Ajalli, about twenty miles away, in the middle of last century. The fact that a fragment of cloth was associated with the finds, and that small pieces of thread are still affixed to some of the objects which are decorated with beads, also make it probable that these castings have not lain in the earth for any inordinate length of time.

#### THE TYPES AND CHRONOLOGY OF WEST EUROPEAN 'BEAKERS'. By Dr. P. Bosch-Gimpera.

**2** Recent research has shown that the 'beaker' pottery of Spain, evolved from incised pottery of the cave-culture in the southern districts of the Peninsula (probably in the lower Guadalquivir valley—El-Acebuchal in the Alcores, near Carmona) had a long period of development. This can be divided into three phases, corresponding to three different styles.

The *First Style*, i.e., the classical style as known through the best vases of El-Acebuchal (in the collection of the Hispanic Society of America in New York) spread to Lower Andalusia and to the Tagus (Tajo) valley, in whose lower part most of the vases of Palmella in Portugal, and in its upper districts the graves of Ciempozuelos and other finds in the provinces of Madrid and Toledo, represent the same style as the Andalusian at El-Acebuchal. Further east, the *First Style* extends sporadically into Catalonia (Cartanyà Cave), and appears in Valencia in districts where cave-culture was still in existence.

Of special interest is the stratigraphy of the Somaén cave in Eastern Castile (Soria province, in the Jalón valley) on the natural pass through the Iberian mountains to Aragon, Catalonia, and

Valencia. Here the *First Style* appears in the lower stratum; the *Second Style*, evolved from Style I, with less pure rendering of its patterns, is dominant in the middle stratum; and in the upper stratum appears undecorated pottery, associated with a flat-celt of bronze.

On the evidence of Somaén II, it is possible to discriminate vases and fragments belonging to the *Second Style*, not only in the Madrid-Toledo group, but also in El-Acebuchal itself and in the Palmella group; since there, too, some of the pottery shows a degeneration of 'beaker' forms and decoration, which may be a third style, for it appears also on the outskirts of the distribution of this pottery.

Beakers only reached the Almeria culture at the end of the *Second Style*, being then normally associated with tomb-furniture belonging to the advanced Los Millares culture, in the form of a *Third Style*. On some Almerian sites in the provinces of Castellon and Valencia, this *Third Style* includes vessels with cord-impressions. A parallel evolution of beakers is to be observed in West Mediterranean groups, where the introduction of beakers seems contemporary with their penetra-

tion into Almerian culture; whence they probably spread as far as Sardinia and Sicily, continuing during the time of the *Third Style* of beakers.

It can now be asserted as evident that Los Millares beakers belong to a later period than the classical pottery of Ciempozuelos and the *First Style* at Palmella. The relations of Los Millares with the late evolution of megalithic civilization at Alcalar in Portugal establish firmly the latter's chronological place at the end of this evolution, after the culmination of Palmella culture; its earlier position being confirmed by the sequence of beaker-styles in the cave-stratigraphy of Somaén. No doubt, moreover, can arise about the later sequence of the pre-Argar and El-Argar cultures of the Bronze Age. Although in Alcalar culture there are no beakers, it is evident that—its contemporaneity with advanced Los Millares being proved—such Portuguese culture belongs to the time of the *Third Style* of beakers.

The spread of beakers in the north-east leads on to their adoption in the Pyrenean culture of Catalonia and south-eastern France. There Pyrenean shepherds infiltrated among the cave-cultured population, which partly remained untouched, but partly mixed with the newcomers. The beginning of the beakers' extension to the north coincides with Pyrenean IIa: the beakers with the richest decoration, in the *Second Style* (e.g., vases of the Cartanyà cave and Somaén II; passage-graves of Boun-Marcou and Laure in dep. Aude). In Pyrenean culture, beaker pottery remains acclimatized, and all subsequent south Catalan types are found there too. In Pyrenean IIb (Grotte Nicolas in dep. Gard) decorations belonging to the end of the *Second Style* are identical with finds from the upper stratum of the Forat del Pany Cave in the cave-culture area of South Catalonia; where beakers appear with *Cardium* pottery of Montserrat type, also representing a cave-culture pottery parallel to older types of beaker. The *Third Style* of beakers, in Pyrenean III, has cord-decoration (Cranves, Castellet, Halliade, in France; and the Barranc grave and Solanells cave in Catalonia. In the stratigraphy of Grotte de Bize (Aude) cord-decorated beakers appear on the surface-level, with cave-culture pottery, which may indicate the persistence of cave-culture during the *First* and *Second Style* of beakers.

Through such facts a sure basis is obtained for the relative chronology of beaker-evolution in

very distant regions. From the French Pyrenean culture, beakers of *Style III* with cord-decoration reached the Basque-Pyrenean megaliths (Pogobakoitz) on the one hand, and on the other the megaliths of Brittany and of the Channel Islands. In connexion with these extensions may be considered beaker-pottery of the same style in Ireland (Moytirra) and Spanish Galicia (Puentes de Garcia Rodriguez). Such beakers are on the route of Atlantic intercourse, from the western Iberian Peninsula to Brittany, Ireland, and Scotland, where there are other signs of such southern relations; vase forms of Alcalar-Los Millares types in Scottish megaliths, Portuguese types of arrowhead with concave base in Ireland and Scotland. The association of *Style III* beakers in Breton megalithic graves with advanced tanged and barbed arrow-heads (frequent in South French Pyrenean graves, where the same style of beaker appears) means that at this time Brittany was strongly influenced by Pyrenean culture III.

Such a chronological scheme, based on typological evolution of beakers, and on stratigraphical confirmation of its sequence, could be reinforced by a general consideration of grave-furniture, in the megalithic culture of Portugal, and of Almerian and Pyrenean culture; especially through the evolution of arrow-heads of Almerian type, adopted by Pyrenean culture and transmitted by it later to more northern territories, the culture of Brittany, on the one hand, and on the other the Seine-Marne-Oise and the British Windmill-hill and Long-barrow cultures. The introduction of beakers into Britain, independently of the adoption of southern megalithic elements and arrow-head types, and along another route, and during the development of the *Third Style* of beakers (= British 'B-beakers') confirms the same chronological scheme.

On the Rhine, also, beakers belong to different styles, which can be compared with Pyrenean, and reduced to the same scheme of evolution, when they do not represent an ulterior development, after the beaker had ceased to exist in France or in Spain. Early beakers on the Rhine seem to be of Spanish *Second Style*; in its final stage they also reached the nordic-megalithic culture; Kirke Helsing in Zealand belongs to the furniture of a passage-grave. The Spanish *Third Style* on the Rhine is influenced by the corded pottery of Jutland, Einzelgräber, and of Saxony and Thuringia, which spread also to

EGEAN.	WEST MEDITERRANEAN.	IBERIAN PENINSULA.
2600-2300 E.M. II. Troy II.		STYLE I. Ciempozuelos-Alcores-Palmella-Somaen I. Some infiltration in S. Catalonia (Cartanyà) and in Valencia.
2300-2100 E.M. III.	<i>Sicily.</i> <i>Sardinia.</i> Geracci. Anghelu-Ruju I  <i>N. Italy.</i> Grotta all' Onda	STYLE II. Ext. of beaker culture of Ciempozuelos-Palmella-Alcores-Somaen II etc. extensions in N.E. Spain and S. Catalonia (Cartanyà-Salamó) and Valencia.  ← b. Infiltration in Almeria. (Los Millares).      b. Upper stratum of Pany. ↓
2100-2000 M.M. I	Villafraati  Anghelu-Ruju II Santa Cristina S. Bartolomeo Ca di Marco	STYLE III. Most evolved types in Alcores-Palmella-Madrid, and in Catalonia and Valencia. Cord decoration in Valencia. Alcalar: (no beakers). ↓ Los Millares Style III.
2000-1800 M.M. II Troy VI Grey Minyan		Pre-Argaric Culture. (no beakers)
1800-1600 M.M. III Yellow Minyan		El Argar Culture I (no beakers)
1600-1400 L.M. I Schacht-gräber		El Argar Culture II: Fuente Alamo (beads).

Holland from the *Emsländische Becherkultur* in N.W. Germany. From such German cultures with corded pottery this decoration may have been acclimatized within the circle of beaker pottery on the Rhine, originating the mixed type of *Glockenzonenbecker*, and extending corded decoration to the French groups of the *Third Style* and its east Spanish relatives. Through the relations of the Rhine cultures with the *Einzelgräber* of Jutland, types of beakers related to these *Third Style* types reached the nordic area. Beakers from Gross-Bornholt in Holstein, from a passage-grave at Ketbjerg in Denmark, and from a *Flach-grab* at Fuglsbølle in Langeland, belong probably not to the period of the construction of the passage-graves, but to their secondary utilization.

On the Rhine, beaker-pottery offers a great variety of development, which is divergent from south-west European evolution. By the side of *Glockenzonenbecker* and of beakers of pure occi-

dental type, there are others with metope patterns as in Thuringia, which can, nevertheless, be included in the period of the Spanish *Third Style*. But afterwards, more or less contemporary with the Adlerberg culture, transitional to the Bronze Age, there are degenerate types, the Herdesheim vase, others with so-called *Randwülsten*, and again others with strongly transformed profile, like the beaker of Kevelaer, which may be related to the Dutch-British evolution, and represent a new *Fourth Style* of beaker-pottery.

In Holland, beakers were known during the *Third Style*, being represented here by very pure forms (Odoorn, De Eeze) together with *Glockenzonenbecker*; and then beakers were introduced from the Dutch coast into Britain (= 'B-beaker' invasion). The evolution of the Rhenish *Fourth Style* has its parallels in Holland, too, and arrives in Britain with the second ('A-beaker') invasion. With such peculiar evolution, representing a style which did not exist in the land of origin of this

PYRENEAN CULTURE AND FRANCE.	RHINE AND BRITAIN : CENTRAL EUROPE.	NORDIC CULTURE.
Pyrenean Culture IIa. Catalonia : Puig-ses-Lloses. France : Boun Marcou, Laure.	Beakers of Rhineland and Central Europe. ↓	
Pyrenean Culture IIb. Catalonia : Boix, Aigues Vives. France : Grotte Nicolas.	↓	Beakers in Gang-graeber : (Kirke Helsing.)
Pyrenean Culture III. Catalonia : Barranc, Solanells. France : Gr. Castellet, Cranves. Halliade Brittany (corded beakers)	Glockenzonenbecher and Style III corded beakers in Rhineland. ↓ B-beakers in Britain.	Style III beakers in Nordic Culture. (Gross-Bornholt).
Pyrenean Culture IV. (no beakers)	STYLE IV. Degenerated types in Rhine, and evolved Holland beakers : (Adlerberg culture.) A-beakers in Britain.	→ Bigum beaker.
Pyrenean Culture V. Only in Catalonia (no beakers)	STYLE V. Late British beakers. Aunjetič	Pyle depot.
	British middle bronze age. (beads).	Nordic bronze age II.

pottery, can be connected some finds in the nordic area, e.g., the beaker from the passage-grave at Bigum in Jutland; they appear, too, in secondary grave-furnitures which may be contemporary with a very late stage of nordic evolution, proceeding to later cists which are contemporary with the Pyle hoard, and equivalent to Aunjetič.

Continental beakers of the *Fourth Style* mark the end of this evolution, and the decay of beaker culture. In Britain, on the contrary, they are representative of a very flourishing culture which extends to Scotland and to north Ireland, and survives for a long time during the older Bronze Age: some of the most evolved and later types might form a Fifth Style, peculiar to this region.

In the Middle Bronze Age of Britain, as beaker pottery has completely disappeared, the introduction of blue beads in the grave-furnitures brings a new relation with southern lands, since they are found also in the late Spanish El-Argar

culture (Fuente Alamo) and in the Eastern Mediterranean. Relations were never interrupted between the Galician and Portuguese coasts and Ireland, especially in the period of the Irish *lunulae*, contemporary with pre-Argar culture in Spain.

Although advanced beaker-styles are to be dated in relation with late periods of the Eastern Mediterranean cultures, the variety of styles which can be detected, and their relations with very different stages of European pre-history during the later Stone Age and the Bronze Age, show that the whole beaker-sequence covers a long interval of time. The absolute chronology must be obtained on the one hand through relations of the Nordic and Danubian cultures with the Ægean; on the other hand, the date of the later stages of the Spanish beakers (*Style IIb* and *Style III*) depends on the date which can be obtained for the Sicilian and Sardinian finds. In any case, however low the dates for such crucial cultures may be supposed to be, it is impossible

to reach the excessively recent dates of Åberg and others. It is hardly possible to put the Villafraña and Anghelu-Ruju beakers after 2000 B.C., and therefore the Spanish *Styles I-III* and the great extension of beakers in Central Europe must also fall before that date. Only *Styles IV-V*, that is to say, the survival in cultures transitional to the advanced Bronze Age, can be dated after 2000 B.C.

Even if the climax (*Hoch-stufe*) of Aunjetiĉ falls after 1800 B.C., and immediately before the Mycenaean Shaft-graves (which may be contemporary with the Nordic Bronze Age II), the beginning of El-Argar, being parallel to Aunjetiĉ—although the advanced stage of Fuente-Alamo covers the Shaft-grave period—the great expansion of Spanish types remains much earlier, and is separated from Aunjetiĉ by the intermediate period of pre-Aunjetiĉ, Adlerberg, and pre-Argar cultures, in which flourished the beaker-culture of Britain (*Style IV*).

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The classification of the Spanish Beaker Styles on the basis of stratigraphy of the Cave of Somaén and a revision of general relative chronology of Spanish groups and specially of Pyrenean culture will be published with full documentation in the author's *Rhind Lectures for 1936*, now in preparation.

The stratigraphy of Somaén has never been properly published. The Marques de Cerralbo referred to it shortly in *El Alto Jalón* (Madrid, 1909), p. 25. Castillo, *La cultura del vaso campaniforme* (Barcelona, 1926), pl. XXX-XXXIII illustrates the pottery, without reference to the stratigraphy, about which I have a verbal communication from Sr. Cabré who states that pl. XXX-XXXI of Castillo's book include pottery of the lower level and pl. XXXII-XXXIII represent the second stratum. See too Cabré, *Actas y Memorias. Sociedad Española de Antropología*, XIV, Madrid, 1934, Noticiario 5-6.

Castillo's book is still the most comprehensive collec-

tion of pictures of beaker-pottery for non-Spanish territories also. Specimens of styles are: *Style I*: plate IX, 1, and X (Alcores): XXXVIII, 2-4, and XXXIX-XLII (Palmella): XIII-XXI (Ciempozuelos). *Style II*: VII, 7 (Alcores); XLV, 1-6 (Monge); *Style III*: VII, 4 (Alcores); XXXVIII, 1 (Palmella).

The most important problems of beaker-culture have been discussed in Bosch-Gimpera, article *Glockenbecher* in Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*; id., *Relations préhistoriques entre l'Irlande et l'Ouest de la Péninsule Ibérique* (Préhistoire, II, 1933, p. 195 ff.); Stampfuss, R., *Die jungneolithischen Kulturen in Westdeutschland* (Bonn, 1929); Neumann, G., *Die Gliederung der Glockenbecherkultur in Mitteleuropa* (Praehist. Z., 1929, p. 32 ff.); Nordman, C. A., *The megalithic culture of Northern Europe* (Finska Fornminnesföreningen Tidsk., XXXIX, 1, Helsingfors, 1935) (Rhind Lectures, 1932); Clark, *The dual character of the Beaker Invasion* (Antiquity, V, 1931).

On the absolute chronology of the cultures in which beaker appear: Nordman, l.c.; Forsander, J. E., *Der ostskandinavische Norden während der ältesten Metallzeit Europas* (Acta R. Soc. Human. Lit. Lund., XXII, Lund, 1936); K. Bittel, *Einige Bemerkungen zu trojanischen Funden* (Marburger Studien, 1938, p. 8 ff.); O. Unze, *Zur Datierung der frühen Bronzezeit Mitteleuropas* (Marburger Studien, p. 243 ff.) The actual opinion of V. G. Childe, *The Dawn of European Civilization* (new edition London, 1939), p. 213-7 ff. and chronological tables on p. 323 ff. is approaching my own, as he admits that it is "a grave error to treat all beakers as contemporary" and dates the beakers of Los Millares and the expansion over south France and the Rhine, and to Sicily, before 2000 B.C., although he insists on Palmella and Ciempozuelos being more or less contemporary with Los Millares and Alcalar, if not later. Childe mentions the sequence of levels of Somaén (p. 264). The consequences of distinguishing the styles of beakers and their exact position in relation with north- and central-european cultures can not be discussed here; but they may point to a more conservative chronology for the oldest periods of the nordic megalithic culture than is obtained by Nordman and Childe, or by Åberg (*Bronzezeitliche und früheisenzeitliche Chronologie*, Stockholm, 1933), and by many German scholars (e.g., Kühn, H., *Zur Chronologie des Neolithikums in Nordeuropa*, IPEK, 1935, p. 116 ff.).

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

Special Meeting of the Institute at Oxford. 2 December, 1939.

On 2 December a Special Meeting of the Royal Anthropological Institute took place at Oxford. It marks a new departure in the practice of the Institute which gives grounds for the greatest optimism as to the Institute's capacity to carry on its activities during the war. The inconvenience of the blackout and restrictions on travelling had led the Council to anticipate a serious decline in attendance at meetings of the Institute and in the interest of members in the Institute's activities.

It was suggested that less frequent but more comprehensive meetings should be held at university centres outside London. The Oxford meeting was the first experiment of this kind, and was completely successful.

The meeting began at 12 noon and it was not till 6.30 p.m. that members and their guests dispersed. Of over fifty members and guests, a large number had come over from Cambridge, London and other places. Two papers in the morning were followed by lunch at Christ Church, and at the end of the afternoon the meeting adjourned for tea at the



Department of Social Anthropology, on the invitation of the Institute's President, Professor A. R. Radcliffe-Brown. The two sessions were held in the Department of Human Anatomy by invitation of Professor Le Gros Clark, and the arrangements were in the capable hands of Dr. M. Fortes.

The papers at the meeting, summaries of which appear below, were concerned with every aspect of anthropology, except archaeology and pre-history, and stimulated lively discussions.

#### **Fossil Anthropoid Apes recently discovered in South**

**4 Africa.** *Professor W. E. Le Gros Clark, F.R.S.*

Casts of the new material were exhibited and described in detail, with special reference to their morphological relations with other fossil and recent Anthropoids, and with the earliest varieties of Man.

#### **Posture and the Position of the Pelvis.** *Professor*

**5** *Arthur B. Appleton, M.D., St. Thomas's Hospital, London.*

The form of the back is greatly influenced by the position of the pelvis. Attention is directed to two respects in which the position of the pelvis shows considerable individual differences, viz., inclination and 'carriage.' The inclination was measured with a Wiles' inclinometer in a series of young adults (60 male, 43 female); 'carriage' was measured from a vertical plane passing through the back of the heels.

Diagrams show the different forms of back characteristically associated with different combinations of pelvic inclination and carriage. An analysis of the differences shows that there are important sections of the body-weight which undergo compensatory displacements and thereby maintain the centre of gravity over the feet. Forward carriage, for example, tends to throw the body-weight forward; this tendency is corrected by a compensatory sway back of the upper portion of the back.

Local alterations in weight may therefore be expected to influence posture. This is known to be true of pregnancy. They are to be expected from corpulence or steatopygia. The habitual carrying of loads on shoulders, the habit of squatting with a rounded back, or the method of carrying a child in certain peoples, may likewise be expected to have a general effect on posture in considerable sections of a population. Previously published experimental studies have shown that postural changes lead, in the young, to alterations in the shapes of bones; in older subjects they influence ranges of movement.

Attention is directed to the effect upon stature of variations in the position of the pelvis.

Anthropological investigations directed to ascertaining postural effects of custom or physical habit seem to offer a profitable field for inquiry. They would also probably throw light on certain postural problems, such as the causation of 'overcarriage' (forward carriage).

#### **Crafts of a Stone Age People in Central New**

**6** *Guinea. Miss Beatrice Blackwood.*

With 16 mm. film were recorded some crafts practised by the 'Kukukuku' of the Upper Watut

River, Morobe District, New Guinea. This name is convenient in referring to the tribe as a whole, which occupies territory extending a considerable distance over the boundary line between the Mandated Territory and Papua. The people themselves use only names for local groups, which differ in dialect but resemble one another closely in other respects. Three were visited: the Manki, the Nauti, and the Ekuti.

For making a stone adze-head a piece of stone is chosen from a stream-bed, a hard blue-grey slate being especially favoured. It is roughly shaped by blows from a hammer-stone, and finished by grinding. Sometimes only the cutting edge is ground. The making and hafting of an adze and of a fighting-club was shown on the film. Ball-shaped club-heads are made from round stones, further shaped by hammering, and hafted with a stick fixed through a centre hole made by 'pecking' with a stone reamer.

The making of bark-cloth cloaks, which are worn by both sexes and all ages, was also shown. The inner bark of certain trees is beaten out with a stone beater and gathered into a string at the top. The cloak is worn suspended from a knot of hair left on the crown of an otherwise rather closely-shaven head, and gives good protection against rain and cold.

Except in the vicinity of gold-mining operations, the Kukukuku have had very little contact with white men, and they afford a valuable opportunity of studying a modern Stone Age people.

#### **The Problem of the Killing of the Divine King in**

**7** *India. Dr. H. Meinhard.*

The *Golden Bough* adduces the testimony of two authors, Barbosa (sixteenth century) and Hamilton (eighteenth century), for an old South-Indian practice of killing the divine king. The Māmāngam festival, formerly celebrated every twelve years at Tirunāvāyi in Malabar, had as its chief feature an attempt on the life of the Samorin of Calicut, the presiding prince, in which the attackers invariably perished. Hamilton declares the action to be a modification of an original ritual suicide of the king at the end of a twelve years' term, and suggests that the individual attackers act in the hope of gaining the king's crown.

As becomes clear, however, from other accounts, the attack was not a spontaneous action, but the expression of an old dispute between the Samorin and the Rāja of Valluvanād about the right to preside over the assembly, and was carried out by the champions of the latter. It appears to have been nothing but a periodically repeated conventional settlement of this feud, and to have become the leading feature of the assembly only by the accident of history. The name of the assembly, Māmāngam, is shared by a twelve-yearly bathing festival at Kumbakonam, celebrated at the same time, in the month of Māgha (January-February). The Sanskritization of the name of the Tirunāvāyi festival, Mahāmākha, 'Great Sacrifice,' is an aetiological etymology. The correct derivation of Māmāngam is from Mahāmāgha, Great Māgha (or twelve-

yearly Māgha, as distinguished from the annual Māgha).

Hamilton's reference to an original suicide of the Samorin is a distorted version of Barbosa's account of the twelve-yearly recurrence of the ritual self-immolation of the king of Quilacare, which is without any historical evidence.

#### Modern Marriage in Buganda. Dr. L. P. Mair.

**8** The Buganda are now, as a tribe, nominally Christian, and are accordingly logically permitted to marry only as Christians. As Christians they are subject to European law and can only be divorced by European procedure in the High Court. Marriages continue, however, to be contracted in accordance with native custom and the bride-price continues to be paid both in these marriages and in Christian marriages. The native courts, however, take cognizance only of Christian marriages. Hence when a marriage by native custom is dissolved it is not possible to demand the return of the bride-price. It is still the essential factor in legalizing a marriage, but such weight as it formerly carried to prevent the dissolution of the marriage is lost, now that it has become non-returnable. Christian marriages are sanctioned by heavy penalties against the abductor of a Christian wife. This has the effect that women are at least as reluctant as men to enter into Christian marriages. Polygamy is disappearing, largely for economic reasons, in the classes which approximate to a European style of living, but indissoluble marriage is still very far from being accepted as the norm.

#### Divination among the Tallensi of the Gold Coast.

**9** Dr. M. Fortes.

The Tallensi are typical of the Voltaic cluster of tribes inhabiting the Northern territories of the Gold Coast and a large area in French West Africa. Sedentary agriculturalists, their social structure is based on the patrilineal lineage and on patriarchal dominance. Cognatic kinship is, however, also recognized, especially in the ancestor cult, which is an elaborate and coherent body of doctrine, ritual and norms of conduct. Every individual is linked with it, for it is the calculus of the social system.

But the ancestor cult is only effective in the life of an individual or of a group from time to time. Generally, the ancestor spirits become relevant for the individual whenever the ordinary routine of life is disturbed, whether by good or by ill fortune. Whenever ritual evaluation of an event is necessary, recourse is had to a diviner.

Only men divine, but the divination shrine is always a 'woman,' a lineal or collateral ancestress. Not every man who has such a shrine becomes a diviner; it seems to depend on interest, ability and perhaps temperament. A diviner's apparatus consists of his rattle, a divining stick, and a bag of miscellaneous objects, each symbolizing an item of religious belief or practice. In a seance, diviner and consulter grasp one end of the stick each, and an extremely rapid dialogue of suggestion and interpretation ensues as the stick moves hither and

thither among the symbol-objects. It is a wholly conscious process, but it has the effect of a catharsis on the consulter.

#### Hypotheses of Migration in East Africa. Summary 10 of a Communication read by Mr. A. C. A. Wright on 12th December, 1939.

The European administrator demands to see his work against an historical background, which is also implicit in the theory of Indirect Rule. Can this historical background be supplied? It is difficult to begin *in vacuo* and work towards established facts: (a) recorded traditional genealogies giving a direction of origin, (b) linguistic similarities, (c) specific cultural similarities. For every migration whose traces are apparent, ten others passed without trace. Therefore any account is, in a strict sense, not 'history.' The most that may be hoped for is a working hypothesis of general lines of movement during last thousand years.

Traditions of movement are always connected with the conquering group. These conquering groups commonly possess physical characteristics similar to people speaking Berber, Libyo-Egyptian, and (Cushitic) languages. Analysis of the social customs of the individual conquering groups was carried out by Seligman and retrospectively generalized to a common 'hamitic' ancestral race.

*Hypotheses relating to migration:* Paulitschke's 'Galla from East to West'; Torday's 'Hamites 'from West to East (Zande-Mangbetu), and 'West to South-East (Bushong-Lunda, &c.)'; Bryant's 'Nguni from North to South'; Cullen Young's elaboration of Torday's 'South-Eastern Wave.' On these lines is explained the division of northern patrilineal Bantu from Southern Patrilineal Bantu, by a wide stream of western matrilineal Bantu. Moeller's hypothesis of the north-eastern Congolese Bantu as emigrants from the Uganda plateau; Driberg's elaboration of Speke's theory of Galla colonists of the lacustrine region. The weakness in this view is noted. Cultural connexion is suggested between the lake kingdoms and Kafia and integrated with views of late diffusion from Meroë, and cross references between the Lake Region and Nigeria. Hofmayer's, Westerman's and Seligman's view of Sudanic speaking peoples in East Africa and Bahr-el-Ghazal. A convenient division between *Ji* speakers and *It*-speakers follows from classification of the *Bantu* group; both *Ji* and *It*, like the word *Bantu*, simply meaning 'Man' or 'people.' Traditions relate to an impact of *Ji* and *It* people southwards upon Bantu people around the Lake. There have been various repercussions. The general dating and causation by Arab conquest and by dessication is discussed.

Though this whole synthesis, based on Rivers' methods, is radically unsound in the view of the functional school; yet as myth it is socially necessary, and perhaps forgivable if honestly criticized.

## REVIEWS:

## PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY.

**An Introduction to Physical Anthropology.** By E. P. Stibbe, with an Appendix by W. A. Smart. London: Arnold. 8½ × 5½. pp. 230. Price 10s. 6d.

**11** This second edition of Dr. Stibbe's book contains a revised text, a note on *Sinanthropus*, and an appendix on statistical methods. While it is satisfactory to have an appendix of this sort it seems a pity that more trouble was not taken to ascertain the methods in use by the majority of anthropologists to day. Students are literal people and if they read Dr. Stibbe's book and see examples in inches they will take him in at the end of the line *de la lettre*. If they turn over the pages of the *Journal* or of *Biometrika* they will have to go back many years to find observations taken in fractions of an inch. The implication is that the metric system is out of date; nothing probably was farther from Dr. Stibbe's thoughts, but surely under the circumstances it would have been better to have given examples in a way which agrees with current practice. Next, arithmetic is troublesome enough in all conscience, but why make it more difficult? Let us begin with definitions. In the definition of the standard deviation we might well be puzzled if we did not know the answer. I quote in full. "Several other 'constants have been devised, the most fundamental and 'useful being that known as the 'standard deviation.' 'It is the square root of the sum of the square of the 'deviations from the mean; i.e., Standard deviation =  $\sqrt{\frac{\text{Sum of (Diff. bet. each observation and mean)}^2}{\text{Number of observations.}}}$ "

The last part of the last sentence is, of course, correct, but in the first half 'divided by the number of observations' or something like it has been dropped. This might puzzle the unwary. Then on the same page we are shown how to work the standard deviation. Luckily the number of observations is only twenty. We have one column with the headlength to the nearest eighth of an inch, then the divergence of each to four decimal places from the mean and this divergence squared. We are next told that this method is only a practical one provided that the data are few and ungrouped. "In the case of a grouped frequency table, 'more elaborate methods must be used.' In point of fact, the standard deviation is a very uncertain figure unless at least 40 are used; and the method of grouping is of fundamental importance. Nor is the use of a working mean, which appears in every elementary textbook, really very difficult. In fact, it is the practical method that is always used. It would seem, then, that the appendix either goes too far or not far enough. No mention is made of standard or probable errors, yet every paper on anthropological work contains them. Here we have the fundamental difficulty; if we are going to limit our studies to pure morphology, all is well, but if we are going to dabble in measurements, we must define our points very much more carefully than Dr. Stibbe has done, and use methods which he only suggests without giving us any adequate guidance as to how in practice they are worked out.

L. H. D. B.

**Americans in Process.** By Prof. William Carlson Smith. Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1937.

**12** This is a study, from the sociological view-point, of American citizens of the second generation of oriental ancestry. It deals principally with Chinese and Japanese who have been born in the States and are in a fair way towards being Americanized. More-

over, it compares or contrasts those in California with those in Hawaii, where a more congenial environment appears to assist the process of the assimilation of orientals by the American social body. Professor Adams, in an interesting introduction, points out that the earlier immigrants from Europe to the States were not only more nearly related to the pioneer colonists in stock, but were conditioned by similar experiences of pioneer life. Modern America, however, is becoming predominantly industrial and urban, and peasants immigrating from Europe can no longer maintain their old culture effectively, while they find more difficulty in assimilating the new, thus causing apprehension in America of their remaining permanently foreign. This danger is naturally accentuated in the case of orientals by an obvious difference of physique. Professor Smith demonstrates the curious hybridization of manners, religion and culture generally observed in the second generation of naturalized orientals, and the difficulty with which they are accepted as full-fledged Americans. When they take over the political history of the colonial era and the War of Independence as part of their cultural heritage, the incongruity is made apparent by their physique, where it would pass unnoticed in even later immigrants of European stock. In Hawaii the multiplicity of races, and the Hawaiian in particular, have acted as catalytics, and the position of American citizens of oriental extraction is in consequence made much easier than in California, though even in Hawaii prejudice appears to be increasing as a result of the better education and increasing westernization of oriental citizens, and their keener competition which inevitably follows. The volume has indirect bearing on many problems of the British Empire.

The format of Professor Smith's book is also of interest. As the publishers say in a note addressed to the reader, one of the hardest problems in the publishing of technical books is the high cost of printing and producing for a limited edition. To reduce this the volume under review has been litho-printed as if typed. The text is completely legible, though rather monotonous to the eye and in consequence tiring to read, a fault which could easily be remedied by using a typewriter on which the lettering more nearly resembled that of print. Any new departure of this kind likely to reduce the cost of scientific books is to be warmly welcomed and exploited to the full, and both author and publishers are to be congratulated on the experiment. J. H. H.

**Population, Race and Eugenics.** By Siegel Morris. Published by the Author, 546, Barton Street East, Hamilton, Ontario, 1939. 206 pp. Price \$3.

**13** This little book is divided into two parts, the first being devoted to positive eugenics and the second to restrictive eugenics. Under the former head are discussed questions of population, racial theories in relation to eugenics, and rational marriage. The latter half considers the feeble-minded, mental disorders, epilepsy, and sterilization. Various statistics are given on these and related subjects and several references are to be found at the end of each chapter. Medical information is also included, partly from the author's own experience. There is an excess of typographical errors.

The chief anthropological aspect is in the discussion of the current political theories of the Nordic and other races. The Australian aborigines are classed as a sub-race of 'white men.' Studies of the Intelligence



Quotients of students in an American University are quoted. It was found that very few students could be assigned to a European racial group, that the unclassifiable individuals scored far higher than those which were classifiable, and that the Nordics were less intelligent than any other classifiable group.

R. R. G.

**Bashkiren, ein Beitrag zur Klärung der Rassenprobleme Osteuropas.** Von Josef Wastl. Wien: Verlag der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft, 1938.

**14** S. xii + 109, 28 Textabbildungen, 10 Tafeln und 1 Karte.

The publications having the general title *Rudolf Pochs Nachlass* are notable contributions to anthropological research. This is the fifth volume in the physical anthropology series. Introductory sections outline the historical and cultural evidence relevant to the origins of the Bashkirs of the Ural. They speak Turkish to-day, but there are suggestions of affinities with Finno-Ugrian peoples. The new material relates to the physical characters of 525 prisoners examined in Czechoslovakia. Particulars relating to age, occupation, speech, nutritional status, health and the condition of the teeth are given first. Data for the colour and other features of the skin, hair and eyes—more than one-third of the men have the epicanthic fold—are then presented, followed by statistical constants for numerous head and body measurements. Discussions of the last, which are treated singly and compared with material for several other populations, occupy the greater part of the volume. The general conclusion reached is that the Bashkirs bear

evidence of their mixed origin. Mongolian and European subgroups are distinguished in what appears to be an arbitrary way, since it is not shown that the characters used for the purpose are highly correlated with one another. The variability of the total group is not unusually large. Excellent photographs—profile and full-face of 56 men and full length (three aspects) of 12 men—are reproduced.

G. M. M.

**Blood Groups.** By William C. Boyd. *Tabulae Biologicae*, Vol. XVII, 2 (1939). 127 pp.

**15** This is a useful systematization of all the blood-group results, both serological and anthropological. It is divided into two parts. The general part deals with the fundamentals of the subject, including the A<sub>1</sub>, A<sub>2</sub>, B, AB, O, as well as the M and N. A great deal of information is packed into it in tabular form, which is convenient for reference, and with the minimum of textual explanations. The agglutinogens in animals and anthropoids as well as man are given, and many points of detail are explained by means of graphs and diagrams.

The second section is mainly a complete tabulation to the time of publication of all published results of blood-group determinations in different races and types throughout the world. It is several years since such a list was published. Two maps are included, and an extensive bibliography of the whole subject. This treatment of the blood groups will be very useful to all serologists and anthropologists as a compact work of reference.

R. R. G.

# AMERICA.

**Magische Vorstellungen und Bräuche der Araukaner im Spiegel spanischer Quellen seit der Conquista.** By Elisabeth Gerds-Rupp. (= *Ibero-Amerikanische Studien des Ibero-Amerikanischen Instituts, Hamburg*, Vol. 9) Hamburg (Conrad Behre), 1937. 166 pp., map.

**16** Although there exists a rich literature on the Araucanians of Chile, yet little has been written on their religion, and thus a comprehensive book like the present one dealing with (Part I) the magic ideas and (Part II) the magic usages of the Mapuche Indians must be welcomed. Dr. Gerds-Rupp has not done any field work, though she has travelled in South America, and her book, as the title discloses, is entirely based on the written sources: namely, the Spanish literature of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, more recent Spanish publications, and the anthropological literature in other languages (pp. 137ff.).

The principal sources on the Araucanian religion are the publications (in Spanish) by Ricardo E. Latcham, in particular: *La organización social y las creencias religiosas de los antiguos Araucanos* (Publ. del Mus. de Etnol. y Antropol. de Chile, T. III, Ns. 2, 3, 4), 1924; by the late R. Lehmann-Nitsche: *Mitología Araucana: El Gran Tátapari* (Rev. Chil. de Hist. y Geogr., T. 65, No. 69), 1930; and *El Viejo Tátapari de los Araucanos* (Rev. del Museo de la Plata, T. 32), 1919; furthermore by Rodolfo Lenz, Felix de Augusta, Tomás Guevara, and E. Robles Rodríguez. The Araucanians believed (and still believe, p. 23) in different metaphysical complements, or respectively emanations, of a living man, or of the dead. The vital energy of the living individual, *lühue*, is supposed to dwell in and shine from the eyes. Then there is the shadow, or reflection, of the living person, *loliñ*, which later on becomes the shadow of the dead, while 'shadow' in the physical sense of the term is *ayhuñ*. The soul of the deceased, *am*, is invisible

but may, from time to time, appear in visible forms, such as that of a bird, or an insect. It moves round its former habitation, is offered meat and drink, and moves to the realm of the dead when it does no longer appear in the dreams of the survivors. It is then transformed into one of the *püllü*, or spirits, supposed to be endowed with supernatural power and capable to force the elemental spirits. For this reason they are worshipped by carefully observed rituals.

Then there is *alhue*, which comes into existence at a person's death, being tied up with the corpse and lasting as long as there are still some physical remains. *Alhue* may assume the former earthly form of the deceased, whereby it becomes visible for men, and especially for animals, but imperceptible to the touch (p. 21f.). It acts as intermediary between the *am* and the survivors, manifesting itself by the barking of dogs, or by rapping, etc., and in this way reminding the relatives of the fulfilment of their ritual duties.

Another important chapter (pp. 75 ff.) is devoted to the various mythical beings, such as the *Caleuche*, a fabulous submarine boat (*sic!*), the *Chonchon*, an animal in the shape of a gigantesque human head, the *Piguchén*, or *Piuchén*, a snake, which is eventually transformed into a fluffy giant frog with short wings.

The Araucanian text, with German translation, of the songs of the *machi* (shamans) (pp. 85ff.) is also worth mentioning. The beliefs and usages concerning totemism (pp. 117ff.) furnish a valuable complement to the very poor information available in the older literature (comp. Frazer's 'Totemism and Exogamy,' vol. III, pp. 581f.). The totem is not believed to be the ancestor of a clan, but a mythical ally of the human ancestor, as is frequently the case among North American Indians. The book is a welcome enrichment of the ethnological literature.

L. A.

**The Kiliwa Indians of Lower California.** By Peveril Meigs 3. (*Ibero-Americana* 15). University of California Press: Berkeley, Cal. (Cambridge University Press, 1939). viii + 88 pp., with 12 plates. Price 7s. 6d.

Under the direction of Professor A. L. Kroeber, the author spent some weeks with the last remnants of these people (Kiliwa—Quiligua of the first mention of them in 1879) and made chief use of three Kiliwa men, aged 72, 60 and 45 years. The Kiliwa are of the

Yuman group, mostly living in Mexico; their abode is east of the head of the Gulf of California, a dry but not wholly desert area, as the well-chosen photographs show; quite a number of plants and shrubs have their uses, and native names. The people make annual treks for seasonal foods, and their mode of life is very simple. In a short time, however, Mr. Meigs has found out a good deal about them, and has put together a very serviceable account.

J. L. M.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

**The Meaning of the words T'alhakimt and T'anāghilt.**

**18** Cf. MAN, 1939, 184.  
SIR,—Mr. Arkell's interesting article on T'alhākimt and T'anāghilt, in MAN for December, 1939, p. 184, suggests certain recollections which may tend to support its main argument.

Some years ago in Bornu I was trying to find out from Tuarog the root meaning of these and other names of Tuarog ornaments and implements. My informants were unanimous in saying that the ornament T'alhākimt came from Syria, i.e., was now imported from Syria; on the other hand they did not know the origin of the name. With regard to T'anāghilt however, they were positive that the word itself simply meant 'an ornament wrought from metal,' connecting its root meaning in Tamashok with that of the Hausa verb *narke*, 'to melt' or 'soften.' If that is so—and I think it must be for I tried very hard at the time to find other possible roots—it will amply explain the limited distribution of T'anāghilt to which Mr. Arkell alludes—and T'anāghilt will be, as he suggests, a local adaptation of T'alhākimt made in silver in places where there were at some period special silversmiths, who in point of design may have been influenced by many diverse or various factors.

As to the meaning of the name T'alhākimt, I do not feel so sure that Mr. Arkell is entirely right. The ordinary Hausa name for a signet ring and/or the seal on it is *hātīmī* (almost a literal transcription of the Arabic word). It is true that the metathesis of 'k' and 't' is fairly common in the Sudan, but in the cast of *hātīm* > *hākīm*, the divergence of meaning has been so widespread in the Sahara and Sudan since the early days of Islam, that I doubt very much whether original *alhātīm* would have been changed to *alhākīm* by the Tuarog Moslems. Thus, without casting any stone at Mr. Arkell's main thesis, which is strengthened by the Syrian provenance of the present day Tuarog T'alhākimt, and the root meaning of T'anāghilt, I think it not improbable that T'alhākimt was so called either

(1) In allusion to some particular *hākīm* or divine personage, or

(2) In allusion to its being worn by the 'nobles' or governing caste, as is the case with the *hūtīmī* of which I have a specimen in that of one of the last Emirs of Daura, which is similar to A (5) and (6) of Mr. Arkell's plate M.

The route by which the original T'alhākimt came to the Sahara is doubtless at present a matter of conjecture—but on the whole it seems most likely that it came via the Red Sea and Sudan. H. R. PALMER.  
*Langham House, Oakham.*

**Research on Primitive Children.**

**19** SIR,—A new *Handbook of Child Psychology* is to be published under the editorship of Dr. Leonard Carmichael. I have been asked to prepare the chapter on 'Research on Primitive Children' and I

am anxious to include all relevant materials, both published and unpublished. I shall therefore be most appreciative if all those research workers who have material in this field will send me reprints (when possible), bibliographical references, and summaries of unpublished results which they would like to have included. Where there are publication-plans for the latter, please indicate.

Some idea of the scope of the article may be obtained from the chapter on 'The Primitive Child' in the earlier *Handbook*, edited by Carl Murchison, Clark University Press, 1931.

I propose to organize the discussion of methods around the following heads: direct observational techniques; projective methods; life histories and biographies; attempts to integrate theoretically methods of child training with adult personality types and the formal culture pattern. It will facilitate matters if those who send me summaries of unpublished material will arrange their summaries under these headings. All material should be in my hands not later than May 1, 1940, and preferably by April 1, 1940.

MARGARET MEAD.

*American Museum of Natural History, New York City.*

**The Meaning of the Cowrie.** Cf. MAN 1939, 165.

**20** SIR,—In answer to Mr. Sheppard's letter, it appears to me that he has misunderstood the evidence which he quotes. The Staxton example shows that the whole necklace was magical, the cowrie being merely one of many amulets, probably included as being a rare and unusual object. In passing may I point out that there is evidence, literary and archaeological, for communication between England and both the Near and Middle East in Saxon times.

The Camerton example is hardly one to be quoted as to the efficacy of the cowrie in the specific quality usually ascribed to it, for in this case the indication is surely of its absolute failure to protect a pregnant woman. It seems to be only a charm put into the grave as a general protection.

Again, the quotation from Dr. Jackson's book is merely a statement without proof. And seeing on what slender foundations much anthropological theory is built, one would like to know whether the information, as to the cowrie being "believed to confer fertility on" women and to help in the process of parturition," was obtained: (a) from what men have told men, (b) by means of leading questions, (c) through an interpreter, (d) after how many years' knowledge of the people whom the writer records?

As a psychological phenomenon it is interesting to note that men appear to think they know exactly all that women feel and think, and can therefore dogmatize on the subject.

I observe that Mr. Sheppard does not attempt to account for the wide-spread wearing of the cowrie by men, and by male and gelded animals, nor for its use as money in many parts of the world. M. A. MURRAY.

# Rock-Paintings in Dutch New Guinea. Cf. MAN 1939, 173.

**21** Sir, — In his account of prehistoric rock-paintings in Dutch New Guinea (MAN, 1939, 173), Dr. Roder refers to stencilled hand-prints similar to those in Australia, North America and Haute Garonne. In Dutch New Guinea, "according to the myth of the aborigines, their ancestors came from the east, or together with the sun. But they were still blind; they had to grope their way alongside the rocks and thus originated the prints of hands and feet." These mark the track of their ancestors' wanderings." They may, of course, have been made for that purpose, but the legend may be *ex post facto*. In either case its quotation is appropriate. But it is another matter when Dr. Roder, on the strength of this myth relating to the prints of hands and feet, asserts without qualification that three human figures, Fig. 6, represent "the ancestors' wanderings, groping alongside the rocks"! It would not be surprising if this interpretation is current. As it stands, however, it looks very like one of those ingenious fancies to which anthropologists are peculiarly prone in dealing with primitive art, on the assumption that all such representations must be of mythical or magical origin. At the risk of being accused of frivolity, I suggest that both hand-prints and figures were done just for the fun of the thing.

Again, in describing Fig. 2, Dr. Roder says, "the hands are raised in adoration," surely for no other reason than that his imagination jumps that way. Why is he so sure of this impressive interpretation; why not a dance-posture, made thoroughly respectable by adding the beloved adjective 'ceremonial'; though it is conceivable that even primitive people sometimes dance for pure amusement.

These comments concern only two small details in a valuable communication. I submit them because one often finds surmise gradually assuming the guise of fact by repeated quotation. W. PAGE ROWE.

# Sacred Twinned Vessels from West Africa. Cf. MAN, 1939, 1. Illustrated.

**22** Sir, — In an article about Sacred Twinned Vessels (MAN, 1939, 129), Dr. Jeffreys welcomes information or references to the occurrence of similar vessels elsewhere. I therefore draw his attention to the twinned vessels made of calabash, wood, and fired clay, of the tribes inhabiting the Haut-Ubangi region, and I include two illustrations (Figs. 1, 2) copied from: *Notes Analytiques sur les Collections L. de la Direction du Musée du Congo, II, i. La Céramique*, par la direction du Musée, Bruxelles, 1907.

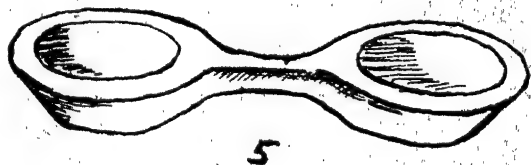
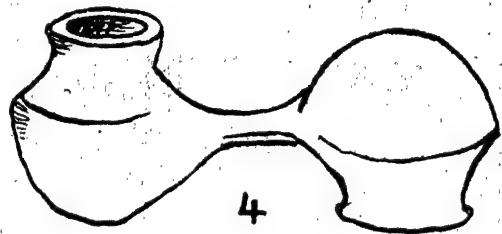
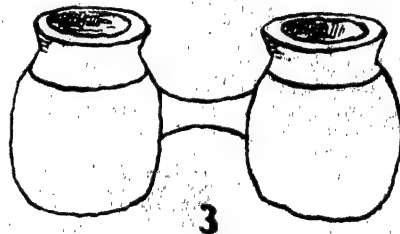
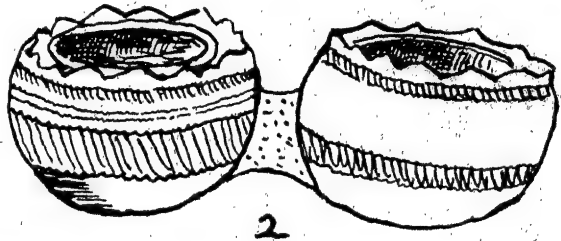
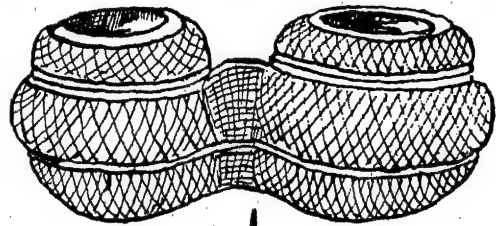
I personally have found three different types (Figs. 3, 4, 5) of sacred twinned-pottery vessels on the market at Bohicon, Abomey district, Dahomey, in a crude red earthenware often daubed with white slip. One type was specially interesting in so far as one of the vessels was turned the other way round (Fig. 4).

I also found a twinned vessel, more or less of the same shape as Fig. 5, on Tac medicine market at Lagos; but the fired clay was yellowish-grey instead of brick-red.

In Benin, pottery vessels with separate compartments are in use, for different kinds of offerings to the Seagod,

Olokun, they consist of one larger vessel for food, and smaller ones grouped round the large one for water.

EVA L. R. MEYEROWITZ.  
Achimota College, Gold Coast.



FIGS. 1-5. SACRED TWINNED VESSELS  
FROM WEST AFRICA.





Fig. 1.—SIOUX WAR-DANCE

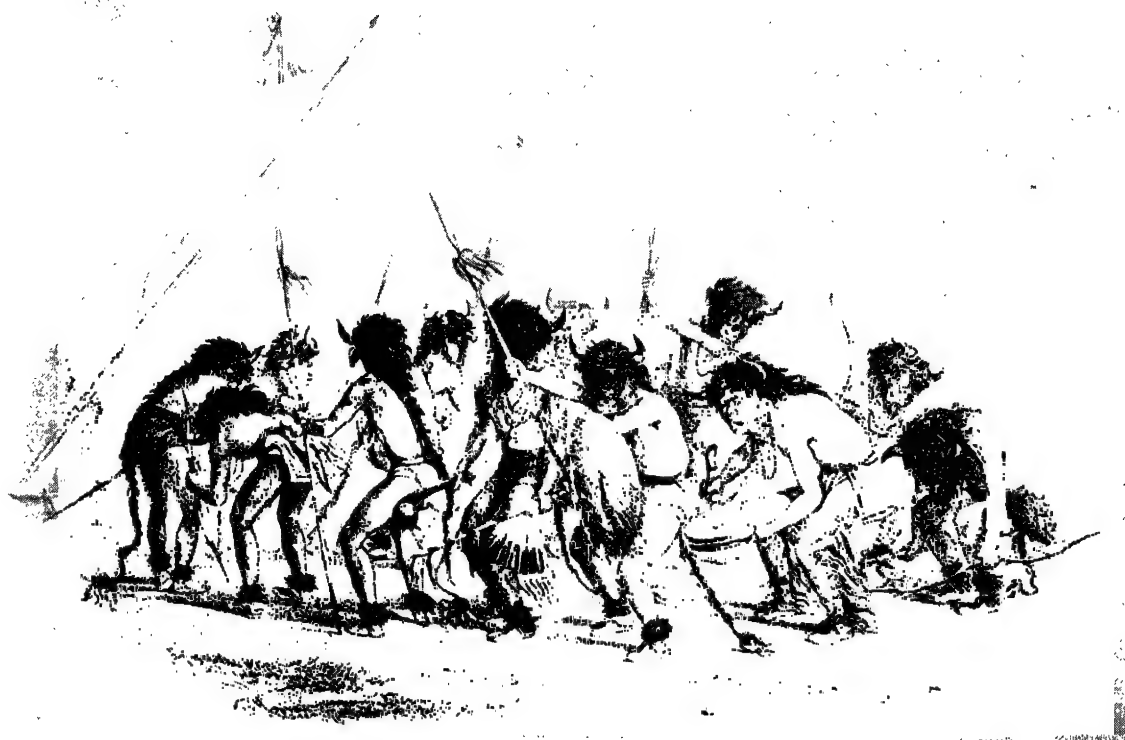


Fig. 2.—MANDAN BUFFALO-DANCE

PLATES FROM CATLIN'S 'NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN PORTFOLIO,' 1844

*Photograph by A. W. Brustmeyer.*

# MAN

# A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

**XL, 23-45**

FEBRUARY, 1940

## ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

**With Plate B.**

**Gaskin**

**CENTENARY OF THE OPENING OF GEORGE CATLIN'S NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN MUSEUM AND GALLERY IN THE EGYPTIAN HALL, PICCADILLY. WITH A MEMOIR OF CATLIN.** *By L. J. P. Gaskin, Horniman Museum, Hon. Advisory Librarian to the Royal Anthropological Institute. Illustrated.*

**23** On the 1st February, one hundred years ago, George Catlin, artist, traveller, and ethnographer opened his *North American Indian Museum and Gallery* in the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly. Here he surrounded the walls with 600 pictures, the product of his tireless industry during his travels amongst the Plains Indians of North America [1830-1838]. Of these pictures, 350 were portraits of distinguished men and women of the different tribes which he had visited, the remainder comprised landscapes, views of villages, games and sports, customs and ceremonies. The Indian Museum was arranged so as to form a pictorial history of those tribes which were thought to be particularly worthy of record, and contained a large number of objects of Indian manufacture, such as pipes, scalps, weapons, masks, horse furniture, costumes, skulls from different tribes, and particularly several of the Flat-Head Indians, with the cradles by which this peculiar artificial deformation of the skull is achieved. In the centre of the room

was erected a wigwam of buffalo skins, and ornaments, from the country. In addition, the entertainment was undoubtedly enhanced by the presence of the Red Indians who gave Catlin lectures. It was surprising that the exhibition was so successful, and was visited by so many men and women of position, and that it secured Royal appro-

In addition to his Hall, Catlin lectured be-institutions in London, proposed the foundation *kind*. His proposals thusiasm and applause but, such is the genius that one hundred years izing power in the world tablish such an institu-

In 1845 the collections



Callie as he returned in the afternoon. The second was written by W. L. Davis  
in 1870. In this volume is a letter from the author to the  
editor of the *North American*, dated 1870. The letter is as follows:  
"The first book, *First, Last, and Next*, is a gift. I should like to see the world's greatest  
bookstore of books. It is a very interesting one. The first of a new, beautiful edition  
will be published with the first of the new edition."

May 1870.

the centre of the room or Indian lodge made of mented with porcupine of the Crow Indians. In ment value was un- the introduction of some *tableaux vivants* while therefore scarcely sur- tion achieved a great by many distinguished the time, finally bation.

duties at the Egyptian  
fore many societies and  
and on each occasion  
of a *Museum of Man*-  
were received with en-  
by his several audiences,  
of the British peoples,  
since, the greatest colon-  
has not seen fit to es-  
tation.

were removed to Paris,

FIG. 3. GEORGE CATLIN.

where they were exhibited in the Louvre, and excited the interest of Louis Philippe, always interested in things American. The July revolution of 1848 brought to an end the Parisian adventure, and it was only with great difficulty, and at great expense that Catlin was able to remove the exhibition, and bring it back to London. Here he re-opened at No. 6 Waterloo Place; but he was soon in financial difficulties, the collections being seized for debt. They never came into his possession again; but owing to the generosity of a fellow countryman, Joseph Harrison, Jr., they were freed and taken to America, where for many years they lay in warehouses belonging to that family, and where they suffered great damage, and were partially destroyed by fire. Eventually, in 1881, the collections were presented to the American nation, and now form part of the United States National Museum.



FIG. 4. CROW WARRIOR ON HORSEBACK.  
From Catlin's 'Letters and Notes,' 1841.

Three periods can be distinguished in Catlin's life: the first comprises his travels amongst the Indians of the Plains, 1830-1838; the second, his European Tour with his Museum and Gallery, 1839-1852, and the last his later travels, and second residence in Europe, 1852-1870.

#### *The First Period, 1830-1838.*

From the very commencement of Catlin's interest in the Red Indian, he had determined the motive for his researches—'to rescue from oblivion the looks and customs of the vanishing races of native man in America, to which I

plainly saw they were hastening before the approach and certain progress of civilization.' With this idea in mind, he proceeded to visit, and live among the Indians of the Plains, who at that time were still living in comparative isolation on the fringes of a rapidly advancing civilization.

In 1830-1831 Catlin accompanied Governor Clark of Saint Louis to treaties held with the Winnebago, Menominee, Shawnee, Sac and Fox Indians, and began his series of Indian paintings. Later, in 1831, he visited with Governor Clark the Kansas Indians, then located on the Kansas river, about 70 miles from its junction with the Missouri.

In the spring of 1832 he ascended the Missouri river in the steamer 'Yellowstone' to Fort Union, at the mouth of the Yellowstone river, and descended the Missouri in a canoe, a distance of 2,000 miles, visiting on his way, and taking portraits of the Mandans, Crows, Blackfeet, Assineboins, Minatarrees, and numerous other tribes.

In the summer of 1833, Catlin ascended the Platte to Fort Laramie, visiting the two principal villages of the Pawnees, the Omahas, and the Otos. On this expedition, he also came into contact with the Arapahos, and Cheyennes. In 1834, Catlin obtained permission from the Secretary for War to accompany Colonel Dodge's expedition to the Camanches, the Osages, and other tribes near Fort Gibson. Owing to the illness of the troops, and for other reasons, he decided to leave the military, and proceed alone, and accordingly he rode from Fort Gibson to Saint Louis over the prairies, a distance of 550 miles, meeting with many adventures on the way, and encountering a band of Osages, under the leadership of a convert to Christianity.

In the spring of 1835, Catlin ascended the Mississippi to the Fall of Saint Anthony, visiting the Sioux, Ojibbeways, and Saukies, and returned to Saint Louis 900 miles, steering the canoe with his own paddle. In 1836, he made a second visit to the Fall of Saint Anthony. From thence he ascended the Saint Peter's to the 'Pipe-stone quarry' on the Côteau des Prairies, and again descended the Mississippi in a canoe to Saint Louis. Catlin was the first white man allowed to visit the Pipe-stone quarry, and thus the red pipe-stone of the North American Indians has come to be known as *Catlinite*.

In 1837 and 1838, Catlin made journeys to the coast of Florida to see the Seminoles and





FIG. 5. SIOUX SCALP DANCE: from Catlin's 'North American Indian Portfolio,' 1844. Photograph by A. W. Brustmeyer.

Eucheas, and afterwards painted portraits of Osceola and other Seminole chiefs, then prisoners of war.

This bald outline of Catlin's travels amongst the Indians of the Plains is included to substantiate his claim to a wide knowledge of the country and its native inhabitants at this period. His adventures, the dangers he encountered, and the privations he underwent during these travels have been described in his remarkable books, and the numerous articles he contributed to various American journals.

#### *The Second Period, 1839-1852.*

The second period of Catlin's life is concerned with his European tour<sup>1</sup>, and the great success which attended the exhibition of his Indian Museum and Gallery in London, and in Paris. In 1841 he published his well-known 'Letters

'and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians' of which over twenty thousand copies were sold, and in 1844, towards the end of his lease of the Egyptian Hall, he completed his great work on the North American Indians, which was published privately under the title of 'Catlin's North American Indian Portfolio' (see MAN, 1936, 56).

This period ends with the death of Catlin's wife and son in France, the flight from Paris, owing to the July revolution of 1848, the seizure of his Indian collections for debt, and his financial ruin; so that within a decade he had reached the high-water mark of an almost royal success, and experienced the dreary desolation of a seemingly never-ending ebb-tide in his fortunes.

#### *The Third Period, 1852-1870.*

The third period records a declining fortune, but not a declining spirit. The intrepid traveller, now aged 56, set out once again, this time to repair his losses by visits to the Indians of Central and South America.

<sup>1</sup> A full account of the European tour is given by Catlin in his *Notes of eight years' travels and residence in Europe, with his North American Indian Collection*. 1848.



In 1852 he sailed to Venezuela, and then went on to British Guiana, where he ascended the Esquibo, and crossed the mountains to the headwaters of the Trombetas, which he descended in a canoe as far as Obidos on the Amazon, and from thence to Para, having seen the Carribbees, Arawaks and many other tribes. From Para he took steamer to Tabatinga and Nauta, and from Nauta descended the Amazon to Obidos, 1,000 miles in a cupola boat which he helped to row. He afterwards ascended the Amazon again, and went on a gold-hunting expedition to the Acari Mountain. Returning to the Amazon he ascended that river once again, and made a horseback tour across the Pampas del Sacramento to the base of the Eastern Sierra of the Andes, visiting many of the Indian tribes of the vicinity. He then descended the Ucayali in a canoe to Nauta, crossed the mountains by the mail route to Lima, took steamer to Panama, St. Diego, and San Francisco, and from thence a sailing vessel to the mouth of the Columbia river, visiting on this occasion the Aleutian Islands, Kamschatka, and Sitka, and seeing many of the Indian peoples of these parts. Returning to San Francisco and St. Diego, he crossed the Colorado of the West at La Paz, on horseback, and descended the Rio Grande del Norte in a dug-out, 800 miles, steering with his own paddle all the way to El Paso, and Matamoras.

In 1855 he returned to Europe to see Baron von Humboldt, then in his 87th year, who presented him to the King and Queen of Prussia, and also gave him a letter of introduction to Aimé Bonpland who was at that time in Uruguay.

In the autumn of the same year Catlin left Europe for Buenos Aires, and took steamer up the Paraguay to the mouth of the Parana, ascending that river for 700 miles in a trading-boat. He afterwards crossed the Entre Rios mountains to Concepcion, on the headwaters of the Uruguay, and descended that river in a canoe, steering with his own paddle to the mouth of the Rio Negro, and thence to Buenos Aires. In 1856 he sailed down the coast of Patagonia and through the straits of Magellan, seeing encampments of Patagonians and Fuegians.

Catlin returned to Europe in 1858, and published two works on these later travels which had a great success. They were *Life amongst the Indians*, 1861, and *Last Rambles amongst the Indians of the Rocky Mountains and the Andes*,

1868. In defence of his friends the Mandans, he wrote in 1867 *O-Kee-Pa* which described the religious ceremony of these people, and is mentioned in MAN, 1939, 131. Catlin eventually settled in Brussels where he busied himself with the formation of his Cartoon Collection, copies of his original paintings, and much new matter from South and Central America. This collection is now in the American Museum of Natural History. He returned to America in 1870, and died in December, 1872.

#### *Estimate of Catlin's abilities and character.*

As an artist Catlin was self-taught, and this, in his case is fortunate as his art is thus untouched by European conventions. For this reason some of his contemporaries have accused him of caricaturing the Indians; but even a cursory examination of Catlin's drawings and sketches shows the bold, crude, but essentially vital and living character of his art, and his pictures have been considered, by those who were well qualified to judge, as amongst the most truthful ever presented to the public. It is more than probable that Catlin's name and fame will rest upon his skill as the limner of the Red Indian.

As a traveller few can doubt Catlin's accomplishments. His itineraries have been purposely given in some detail, and they show that he had travelled all over North and South America. Moreover, at that time, real qualities were needed for travel in remote districts, and these Catlin had in full measure. He was able physically to withstand the extremes of climate, and to endure the hardships consequent upon the mode of travel he had to undergo, and at all times he seems to have been happiest when undergoing such privations which appear to have acted as a kind of anodyne for 'the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune.'

An ethnologist Catlin's reputation does not stand upon such sure ground. His importance to anthropologists lies in the fact that he saw the Indians of North America before a so-called civilization had overtaken and destroyed them. As an artist his records of the Indians, and of Indian life, are excellent, and of great ethnological importance, and when recording facts he appears to have taken pains to ensure accuracy of statement. But Catlin's ethnological theories can scarcely be seriously considered to-day, and many of his descriptions have been called in question.

He lacked scientific training, and was not a highly educated man, and was thus not fully able to take advantage of the priceless opportunities vouchsafed him.

An author, Catlin's works show all the faults of the generation to which he belonged; but his material was so interesting, and so fresh that he achieved a very real success in this direction, and it is not too much to say that his writings show something of that vitality which is so pleasing a feature of his art.

Catlin's character was simple. He was a plain

man endowed with a strong personality, and great tenacity of purpose. It is impossible not to admire his stoic qualities in the face of adverse circumstances, or to criticize his signal devotion to an ideal which he followed for 42 years, without the slightest encouragement, either governmental or individual. His was a life of struggle, toil, privation and hardship; but in the end he was able to surmount all obstacles by the deep-seated conviction of the imperishable nature of his work, and his will to succeed.

#### SECTIONS AND KINSHIP IN SOME DESERT TRIBES OF AUSTRALIA. *By A. P. Elkin.*

**24** By desert tribes I refer to those inhabiting the almost unsettled country of western South Australia and the adjacent areas of Western and Central Australia. I have already given a brief account of the social organization of some of them in 'The Social Organization of South Australian Tribes,' *Oceania*, Vol. I, No. 2. Pp. 60-71.

I was surprised when the first genealogy I recorded in 1930 in north-western South Australia showed that cross-cousins were classified with brothers and sisters (*KURDA* and *Kangaru*; *MALAN* and *malan* if younger), and mother's mother's brother's son with mother's brother (*KAMARU*) instead of with father (*MAMA*), as is usual in kinship systems of the Aranda and Dieri type; that only one term (*DJAMO*) was used for father's father and for mother's father, and one (*Kami*) also for father's mother and for mother's mother. Further investigation confirmed this record, and indeed, I found later that the natives along the East-West Transcontinental Line go further and use the same terms (*KUDANA* and *undal*) for sister's children as for own children. I soon realized, however, that this classification of relatives was possible because the kinship system did not have to be correlated with moieties or sections, for there was none; therefore if cross-cousins were to be treated as brothers and sisters they could be called such, or if my mother's male cross-cousin were in terminology as well as in behaviour her brother, then it was logical for me to call him by the term for mother's brother, and so on with all the cross-cousins of my parents and also of my children; if the cross-cousins of the latter are called by them brothers and sisters, then it is logical for me to call them sons and daughters.

When, however, I reached the Laverton district of Western Australia and came in contact with tribes from the east and north-east of that township, I found that a kinship-system, similar in form and function to those of western South Australia, was combined with a section-system. There were only two terms for grandparents (*TAMULI* and *kabali*), the same terms for cross-cousins as for brothers (*KURDA*, elder brother and *MALAN*, younger brother) and sister (*kanguna* and *malan*) and the same for sister's son and daughter as for own son (*KADA*) and own daughter (*yundalba*). This meant that there were *KURDA* and *kanguna* in two sections, namely, EGO's own and that of his cross-cousins, and *KADA* and *yundalba* in both of the other two sections, namely, those of his children and his sister's children, while *TAMULI* and *kabali* were also included in two sections.

This, of course, nullifies, at least partially, the social function of the section-system; normally each of the four sections consists of a distinct group of relations with its own set of terms. If an individual of one section knows another person's section, he also knows that the latter is related to him in one of three or four ways, and cannot be related in the remaining dozen or more possible ways. Likewise, to know the kinship term to be applied to the latter, is to know his section. This was not the case, however, with the tribes east of Laverton; to know that a person is one's *KADA* or *KURDA* or *TAMULI* does not signify his section, and the affiliations and behaviour attached to the latter. But in the great number of tribes in which sections or subsections have been established for a considerable time, even though they may have been, or are, primarily totemic in function, the kinship terms are

correlated with them. This is true for example amongst the tribes to the north and north-west of Laverton as well as of the Aranda and tribes north of the Aranda. Therefore, if the process of social modification be not hindered by white contact, it will be interesting and important to see what changes are (in the future) made in the kinship terminology of the tribes on the east (the Kagara) and north-east (the Mandjindja) of Laverton, so as to correlate it with the section-system. Probably these tribes will borrow, from those from which the section-system has come to them, their special terms for cross-cousins, sister's children and one pair of grandparents.

It is significant that already in 1930 mother's mother's brother's son was called by the term for father, as is usual in tribes with moieties or sections, and not by the term for mother's brother, as in the western tribes of South Australia, and so on with the cross-cousins of both parents. Thus, one logical application of the classification of cross-cousins with brothers and sisters has been modified by the practical necessity of correlating the terms of the parent's generation, and incidentally of the wife's parent's generation-level, with the section-system. But as this process of modification, which would require new terms, has not gone further, we may infer that the acquisition of sections by these tribes is comparatively recent.<sup>1</sup>

It is worth emphasizing that whether, or not, sections developed originally from the grouping of relations according to generation levels and marriage rules (more particularly the prohibition of marriage between parallel cousins), this process has not been displayed before our eyes. On the contrary, we see the section—(or subsection)—system spreading, and demanding new terms and even the rearrangement of some old ones. In this connexion it is interesting to compare the terminology of some of the Aluridja tribes of north-western South Australia and south and western Central Australia. Amongst the former in which there are neither moieties or sections, and in which cross-cousin marriage is forbidden, there is only one term for father's father and for mother's father, and one term for the two

grandmothers, while cross-cousins are classified with brothers and sisters. Amongst the Western Loritja, however, with whom Pastor C. Strehlow was familiar in the neighbourhood of Hermannsburg, and who had acquired the eight-subsection-system (apparently from the north), father's father was distinguished in terminology from mother's father; likewise, father's mother was distinguished from mother's mother, and there was a special term for cross-cousin.<sup>2</sup> Without such distinctions the subsections would not be correlated with the kinship-system and would only bring confusion, as is the case in the Laverton District (W.A.). This must be true also of some of the tribes west of Hermannsburg. The Ngalia and Jumu tribes have the same subsections as Strehlow's Loritja, but only one term for both grandfathers and one for both grandmothers. Such is the report of Dr. H. K. Fry who saw some members of these tribes at Mt. Liebig in 1932.<sup>3</sup> They did, however, distinguish cross-cousins from brother and sister, and also sister's children from own children—a distinction which is not made by the more Southern Aluridja tribes of South Australia. The subsection-system was thus making its influence felt, though not yet in the grandparent's generation.

That the social organization was in a state of flux was shown by the kinship-terms and section-names obtained by Dr. Fry from three Pintubi from the west of Mt. Liebig. Five section-names were recorded and their correlation with eight subsections of the Loritja (Ngalia) was given. Now, the use of five (or indeed, six or seven) section-names is so irregular as to suggest that names of section in two tribes must have been given. This proved to be the case in the Laverton district in 1930, where I was given six names. Moreover, when Dr. Fry says that *Iparka* section

<sup>1</sup> The borrowing or acquisition of terms to which reference has just been made, has occurred elsewhere, e.g., among the Murinbata on the Timor coast of the Northern Territory. Vide W. E. H. Stanner, 'Murinbata Kinship and Totemism,' *Oceania*, Vol. VII, No. 2, pp. 198-9.

<sup>2</sup> A. P. Elkin, 'The Social Organization of South Australian Tribes,' *Oceania*, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 66-9, and unpublished field-notes. C. Strehlow, 'Die Aranda und Loritja Stamme in Zentral Australien,' Teil IV, pp. 78 ff. The terms for all grandfathers in north-western South Australia is *TAMO*; further south it is *BAGALI*; for all grandmothers, it is *kami* and further south and west *kabali*. In the western Loritja, according to Strehlow, father's father is *TAMU*, mother's father *KUNARBI*, father's mother *bakeli*, and mother's mother *inkilyi*, while *Wotjira* is the special term for cross-cousin.

<sup>3</sup> H. K. Fry, 'Kinship in Western Central Australia,' *Oceania*, Vol. IV, No. 4, pp. 472-8. The terms are *TAMO* (father's father and mother's father) and *kami* (father's mother and mother's mother).

corresponded to *Tangala* subsection of the Ngalia, and occasionally to *Tapurula*, and that *Panaka* corresponded to *Tapurula* only, we can be sure that change in social organization and a spread of terms are in process. The term *Panaka*, indeed, is almost superfluous, or perhaps is being learnt from another tribe. This suggestion is supported by a comparison of the names of what is obviously the corresponding mother-child cycle of sections in the Mandjindja of the Warburton Ranges, the Kogara, east of Laverton, and the Pintubi. In the first it is *Burunga-Ibarga*; in the second it is *Burunga-Panaka*, while in the third it is *Purunga-Ibarka* (and *Panaka*). Thus, the Pintubi are using for the second section of the cycle, either of two terms, one of which is used by the Mandjindja on their west, and the other by the Kogara further south-west; in fact, the two terms may have come to them from these directions.<sup>4</sup>

Now, for the Pintubi, Dr. Fry records only one term for both grandfathers (*TAMUNGATA*) and one for both grandmothers (*kapali*), one term for son (*KATTA*) and sister's son and one (*undalba*) for daughter and sister's daughter; I found the same usage in some of the Aluridja tribes on the east of Laverton which had acquired the section system comparatively recently. As a result, a Pintubi man has *TAMUNGATA* and *kapali* in two sections and also *KATTA* and *undalba* in two sections; thus, the section-system is of little use as a classification of kin. However, terms would no doubt be borrowed in time, perhaps from the Loritja, whose terms Dr. Fry's three Pintubi informants used as frequently as their own.

It does seem from such facts as these that the introduction of the section- or subsection-system into a tribe involves in time some rearrangement of, and addition to, its kinship terminology. Moreover, the absence of sections and moieties from all the western half of South Australia and neighbouring areas of Western and Central Australia, as also from some small regions like

<sup>4</sup> The sections for the Mandjindja of the Warburton Ranges are:

→ *Milanga* = *Burunga* ←  
→ *Tararu* = *Ibarga* ←

and for the Kogara east of Laverton:

→ *Karimara* = *Burunga* ←  
→ *Tararu* = *Panaka* ←

Dr. Fry (*l.c.*) gives for the Pintubi:

→ *Purukulu* = *Purunga* ←  
→ *Tararu* = *Ibarka* (*Panaka*). ←

the North of Dampier Land (Bard tribe) and the eastern coast of the continent from the Manning River (N.S.W.) southwards to Wilson's Promontory (Victoria), the general prohibition in these parts of first-cousin marriage, and the reckoning of descent in them through four lines (as in the Aranda) show that moieties and sections are not universal and inevitable developments from the kinship-system and associated marriage-rules. It is, of course, theoretically possible that the section-system was evolved in one or more tribes as a means of preserving alternate generation-levels and preventing cross-cousin marriage, but these are both done quite efficiently where there are no such groupings;<sup>5</sup> moreover, in tribes which lack moieties or sections, the kinship terms are not such as fit in naturally with, or would automatically give rise to, such forms of grouping.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> The Aluridja tribes use two reciprocal terms, such as *Tanamildjan* and *Nganandaga*, the first of which is used between members of the one generation and also between a person and the members of his grandparents' and grandchildren's generations; the other term is used reciprocally between the persons of one generation on the one hand, and on the other hand, those of the generations one above and one below (*e.g.*, between a man and his father or son). Thus, alternate generations are grouped together into what may be called 'lines': compare the Iatmul of the Sepik River, G. Bateson, 'Social Organization of the Iatmul People,' *Oceania*, Vol. II, No. 3, p. 269.

A person must find his spouse in his own line. Incidentally, the 'lines' or reciprocal generation groups usually sit in separate parts of the ceremonial ground and take up different positions when camping. In the Lagrange-Broome area of Western Australia similar reciprocal terms are used along with the section system; the two intermarrying pairs of sections constituting the two 'lines,' for each section normally includes only members of alternate generations, and the two sections of an intermarrying pair contain the same alternate generations. In the Aluridja tribes marriage is based on consideration of kinship and locality.

<sup>6</sup> This is true not only of the Aluridja tribes but also of the Bard (North-West Australia) where mother's mother's brother's son is called mother's brother instead of father, as in tribes with sections; (A. P. Elkin, 'Social Organization' in the Kimberley Division, North-Western Australia, *Oceania*, Vol. II, No. 2, p. 310) in the Kattang of the central coast of New South Wales and the Kurnai (Victoria), in both of which cross-cousins are called brother and sister. In his 'Social Organization' of South Australian Tribes, *Oceania*, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 229, Professor Radcliffe-Brown writes that if Howitt is correct in stating that cross-cousins were called 'brother' and 'sister,' the kinship system must have differed in important respects from any other known in Australia.

[continued]

It may have been so in one or more tribes, but so far we cannot prove this. We do know, however, that sections and subsections and

With regard to this, my field work amongst the Aluridja, which was not done until after Professor Radcliffe Brown wrote his essay, is significant; the Aluridja kinship system with its classification of cross-cousins with brother and sister, which is correlated with the absence of moieties and sections, does throw light on the Kurnai system, for the latter tribe (and also the Kattang) likewise lacked both moieties and sections.

moieties are frequently totemic in nature, and that in some regions at least, they have spread or are spreading as a system of totemism.<sup>7</sup> In any case, sections and especially subsections spread at intertribal gatherings as a means of regulating behaviour, though their full significance is not readily understood.

<sup>7</sup> I have discussed this matter at some length in 'Studies in Australian Totemism,' *Oceania*, Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 66-7, 74-9. (= *The Oceania Monographs*, No. 2, pp., 104-5, 112-7.)

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

**A Day in the Life of a Pitjandjara Native of the Mann Range, South Australia. Film-exhibit, 25 9 January, 1940.** The film is the property of the Board of Anthropological Research, University of Adelaide, who presented a print to the British Museum (cf. MAN, 1937, 34).

This print was exhibited by the courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum, with an introduction and running commentary by Professor A. R. Radcliffe Brown. It included many scenes of native life, and its natural surroundings, and was remarkable for the complete ease and absence of pose of the adults as well as of the children.

It was followed by a film of scenes of travel and native life in the Musgrave Ranges to the east of the Mann Range taken by Mr. Henry R. Balfour of Melbourne in 1937, and described by Rev. J. R. B. Love. Mr. Balfour presented the film to the British Museum.

### Racial Theories and International Relations.

**26 Summary of a lecture delivered by G. M. Morant, D.Sc., 23 January, 1940.**

Anthropology was essentially concerned in the propaganda which preceded the war. Disagreement

among anthropologists regarding racial problems was the chief cause of their failure to influence the trend of public opinion. The popular concept of race is derived primarily from the accounts of early historians, whose descriptions suggest that there were marked distinctions between European populations in physical characters. Complete separation with definite racial frontiers was implied, and language distinctions appeared to confirm the correctness of this view. The study of body characters provided an entirely different, and more direct, line of approach. It led to the concept of a continuous system with no abrupt divisions, and this new view has been substantiated by a large amount of evidence. The lecturer illustrated it by maps showing the distribution in Europe of the complexion, stature, pigmentation and blood groups. Problems of racial analysis are now appreciated to be very complex, and hitherto anthropologists have reached no general agreement regarding their treatment. Nevertheless, a simple presentation of certain aspects of the biological evidence could be used effectively to refute false racial dogmas. This new material is of such a nature that popular appreciation of it should encourage good relations between nations.

## OBITUARY.

### Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, 1939.

**27** Professor Lucien Lévy-Bruhl has played a part in the development of Anthropological theory that has greatly advanced the science, and has ensured him enduring fame in its annals. Before turning to the study of Primitive Man, he spent many years studying philosophy, and his writings on the subject, especially his books on Jacobi and Comte, are considered masterpieces. The publication of his *Morale et la Science des Moeurs* in 1903 marked a change in his interests from philosophical and historical studies to sociology, though his new interest in social systems was chiefly directed to an elucidation of those problems of human thought which had earlier occupied his attention. Indeed, it is, perhaps, one of the weaknesses of his studies of primitive beliefs that he

approached them by methods of analysis more appropriate to studies of Jacobi, Comte, and Mill; so that the gulf he saw always between primitive and civilized lay between savage beliefs and the loftiest constructions of these eminent philosophers rather than between savage minds and the minds of ordinary Europeans.

In his treatment of moral philosophy Lévy-Bruhl exposed, devastatingly but charmingly, the futility of ethical theories which set out to provide a basis for conduct, and he laid the foundations for an inductive study of morals. His standpoint in this book was very similar to that of Durkheim and his collaborators, with whom Lévy-Bruhl maintained harmonious relations, though he was always too independent a thinker to be entirely identified with any school of thought. While the *Année Sociologique*



writers were devoting their attention chiefly to a study of social structure, mainly in the field of primitive peoples, Lévy-Bruhl, in the same field, began a detailed analysis of those ideological systems in which the structures are, as it were, mirrored. He held that one might as legitimately

This is not the place to criticize or appraise his theories. They were often ill-understood, especially in England where such terms as 'mystical', 'pre-logical', 'mentality', 'collective representations', and 'participation' are alien to English ways of thought. Lévy-Bruhl consoled himself by seeing in this inability to grasp his theory a confirmation of it. Whatever may be said on one side or the other—and it was almost all said on one side, for Lévy-Bruhl seldom considered that his critics had attacked him at a vital spot worth defence—there can be no doubt that his theories have had very wide influence. Those who hotly disagreed with them, felt that they could not be neglected, and most modern writers on primitive notions devote a section to 'prélogisme', if only as a foil to their own theories. As a result the study of Primitive Man has been advanced, and its vocabulary has been enriched. Lévy-Bruhl is a good example of the influence of theory on experiment, for though he was purely an armchair anthropologist, without any field work experience, his writings have done much to stimulate the research of others in the field; mainly, it is true, with the object of disproving his theories, or, more accurately, what were generally believed to be his theories. If, in the long run, evidence proves them wrong, it will have been on account of them that the evidence was collected. No man of science could wish for a finer tribute than the weight of evidence garnered to refute his opinions. In assessing Lévy-Bruhl's influence we have to cover a wider field than anthropology. Like many original thinkers he neither belonged to, nor founded, a school. His influence was indirect, though none the less wide and effective for that. One has only to mention the names of Piaget and Granet to show its scope. Its widest eddies embraced the minds of many men, like his friends Jaurès and Einstein, far removed from the domain of social anthropology.

Lévy-Bruhl was not only a great thinker; he was the rarer combination of great thinker and great man. Differences of opinion did not make him personally hostile to those who attacked his views, and he was unruffled by the sweeping criticism levelled at them. For him desire for perfection, and not personal rivalry, was the urge to labour. He showed also his greatness by his encouragement of younger men, to whom he showed always courtesy and kindness. His charm of manner, simplicity, and integrity, endeared him to all his friends, old and young alike. E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD:

LUCIEN LÉVY-BRUHL.

begin a study of social systems from this end as from the other. In 1910 appeared *Les Fonctions mentales dans les Sociétés inférieures* and in 1922 *La Mentalité primitive*. Other volumes, dealing with myths, symbols, and a variety of other topics, followed in rapid succession till his death last year, but, though each made an important contribution to its special subject, they were particular applications of the method and theory already developed in his earlier works on primitive mentality rather than new departures in either.

## REVIEWS.

### AUSTRALIA.

**The Australian Aborigines.** By A. P. Elkin. Angus and Robertson, Sydney and London, 1938. xiv + 258 pp. Map and illustrations. Price 8s. 6d.

Professor Elkin's book "is intended for three types of readers: those of the general public who would like to know more of this interesting but unfortunate people; administrative officials and

"missionaries who have to work amongst the aborigines, "or to deal with matters concerning them; and University students and scientists." (p. v). All of these have reason to be grateful for the way in which their respective needs have been considered and reconciled. The understanding of the aborigines is simplified by many penetrating comparisons with our own culture,

and the book is clear and readable throughout; the effect of European influence and the problems arising from it are constantly kept in mind; and the analyses and theoretical considerations advanced by the author make it an outstanding contribution to the study of Australian culture.

After a general description of the life of the aborigines, and particularly their relation to their land, the author brings his wide experience in carrying out and directing research, to bear on the difficult problem of kinship. Adopting the approach of Radcliffe-Brown, he describes the more important types of Australian kinship-system, including that of the Ungarinyin with its interesting synthesis of the principles of genealogy and locality in kinship terminology. This and s... Elkin uses to support his view that the... is to be regarded as "a family of countries" (p. 74), an interpretation which would explain that degree of tribal unity which (in the absence of political organization on a tribal scale) seems too marked to be explained by the mere possession of a common language. The interpretation, however, requires more extensive documentation, and like the whole treatment of Australian kinship seems to call for a far more detailed study of the concrete human relationships which underlie social organization.

In dealing with moieties, sections, and subsections, Elkin points out that they are *not* primarily divisions for the control of marriage, but represent groupings or alignments of kin for ceremonial purposes, particularly at inter-tribal gatherings (p. 94). The real social regulations controlling marriage are to be found in the underlying kinship system, of which the larger groupings are but general and not always accurate reflections (p. 88).

Chapter VI contains an excellent descriptive and analytical treatment of Australian totemism. This section brings out the inadequacy of Spencer and Gillen's work, upon which such enormous theoretical superstructures have been built. The author re-states and elaborates his distinction between 'social' and 'cult' totemism, emphasizes the close relation of the latter to nature-myths, and refers to many interesting variants, such as the custom of admitting a man to the patrilineal totemic group of his mother's brother. But he leaves us in no doubt as to the fundamental homogeneity underlying the various forms and functions of the several systems which he describes.

The study of secret life, and particularly of initiation, leads on to a consideration of aboriginal philosophy, magic, and beliefs concerning death. This latter half of the book does not maintain the high standard of the earlier chapters, for in the absence of adequate information on these recondite problems, the author sometimes falls back on formulations which are neither as precise nor as well-documented as they might be. The equation of initiation with death (pp. 155, 165, 166) seems to go beyond the social metaphor of the natives; and in connexion with magic and religion, the word 'life' occurs with monotonous frequency in reference to a vast range of heterogeneous, conflicting and contrasting human beliefs and purposes. ... nothing, though sometimes giving the... something which still remains obscure has been understood. But Professor Elkin is too closely in touch with

the concrete realities of aboriginal life to allow such formulations to interfere with the rounded and comprehensive picture which he gives us. His penetrating and sympathetic study of initiation rites corrects such gross misinterpretations as Benedict's description of these rites as an expression of the "pitiful will to power" of the old men.

As a whole, *The Australian Aborigines* is an admirable general description of a culture considered as an instrument of human adaptation. The author succeeds in giving us at the same time a generalized description of Australian culture and an equally clear indication of local variations within this field. It is true that a greater amount of attention might have been paid to the more mundane phases of life such as economics and recreation. A consideration of these in relation to the various institutions described by the author... as... of ceremonies, the... of... relation to production in periods of plenty and famine (the author speaks as though nature always co-operated with man in the satisfaction of the latter's needs, pp. 142-3), and the seasonal integration of economic and ritual activity mentioned in connexion with culture contact on p. 153. Recreation in relation to religion and social organization is another subject, which might have been more fully developed. Religious gatherings are not merely solemn occasions—they are grand fun, and the purely æsthetic and recreational appeal of tribal customs is an important matter to be considered in connexion with the possible substitution of European ideologies for disintegrating native beliefs, as has proved to be the case in connexion with modifications of initiation ceremonies in Africa. Another field, in which comparative material suggests an extension of the author's conclusions, is magic. The possible rôle of this in supporting authority is not mentioned, though there are indications of it: "The old men are usually more proficient than others in magic" (p. 206); *kadaitja* expeditions are undertaken "at the request or command of another person, usually a headman" (p. 209); and a new form of magic "is much dreaded," "and in this disorganized society, the old men are seizing upon it as a method of restoring their authority" (p. 210 n. 6). In view of the significance of similar observations in other ethnographic provinces, a study of this aspect of Australian society would be profitable.

It is impossible to do justice to Elkin's penetrating observations and practical recommendations in the field of culture-contact—on the importance of approaching natives through the elders (p. 102), on the social reality of what is sometimes called "communism" (p. 103) and on native law and secret life. These will be invaluable to the missionary and administrator, who may learn from Professor Elkin's book of the wide gap which separates native from European culture, and the means by which this may be bridged. In particular, the representation of native culture and values will help to clarify the contrast, so admirably described for Africa by Cullen Young, between the fellowship professed by Christianity and the real tragedy of exclusion, discrimination and misunderstanding which marks the impact of civilization upon primitive cultures.

RALPH PIDDINGTON.

#### AFRICA.

**Red Strangers.** By *Elspeth Huxley*. London: Chatto and Windus. 1939. 406 pp. Price 8s. 6d.

29 Mrs. Huxley's novel traces, through the imagined story of three generations, the reaction of an East African tribe to the occupation and settlement of its territory by Europeans. Typical incidents of Kikuyu

life before and after the coming of the 'red strangers'—a description it might be salutary for us to bear more often in mind—are dexterously woven into the life-histories of three or four principal characters.

The first section, covering the years 1890-1902, contains a complicated dispute over unpaid bride-price,

a curse leading to sickness which must be magically purified, a circumcision, a foray against the Masai, a courtship and marriage. It closes with the arrival of the inexplicable strangers who 'kill with fire at a distance,' with 'nothing but a noise,' and, when the victory is won, do not go home with their spoils, but stay to talk of 'rule and justice and things which had nothing to do with the matter at all.'

The second part takes us up to 1919. The leader of the warrior age-grade is appointed headman and soon learns to flout the elders and make the most of his position. He commits a perfectly justifiable murder; his younger brother is accused through a mistake of the interpreter, willingly accepts the responsibility and offers to pay the blood-price, and is told he is lucky to get off with a term of imprisonment. The story shifts to the latter's adventures in prison, in a road-gang, as a porter in the Masai move, as *shamba*-boy on a mission station. He returns home to be refused his share of the family land by his brother, learns that the strangers now punish those who break new ground in the forest, and sets off to seek his fortune as a squatter in a region where the climate and seasons are different from those of his home. He is wise enough to stay at home during the 'new form of madness' inaugurated in 1914; others, less fortunate, are afterwards can be brought to speak of the horrors they have seen.

The hero of the next generation, Karanja, spends a few days in hospital as a child and from that time is consumed with interest in things European; he finds work as a house-boy and pays the head-boy half his wages to teach him to write; visits Nairobi, buys a bicycle with money stolen by a friend and is bitterly disillusioned when they are discovered and arrested; accepts with equanimity the order limiting the number of goats to be kept by squatters, which breaks his old father's heart; becomes a capitalist, paying the unmarried girls to cultivate his maize, for sale, from wages earned as a tractor-driver; takes part in the agitation against the suppression of female circumcision; joins the church in order to combine polygamy with Christianity, and calls his first child Aeroplane. His wife will never be able to pronounce such a 'difficult word, but educated people would know, and understand.'

Mrs. Huxley disclaims any intention of speaking for the Kikuyu people. Yet in tracing the story of the past fifty years she has sought to see it at all points as it must have seemed to them, and to a European reader she carries complete conviction. This book should be widely read by the general public, to whom, not least in Kenya itself, the idea of a perfectly consistent and rational set of attitudes, in terms of which the ways of Europeans are not necessarily admirable because inexplicable, but at least as often are insanely rash, indecent, ill-mannered, utterly futile, or (where they fail to understand the native organization) merely stupid, will be new, and may influence their views on the civilizing process. Scientific exactitude Mrs. Huxley also disclaims, on the ground that she is not an anthropologist and has not given to the collection of her material the time, and checking of accounts, which a professional study would demand. Moreover, such exactitude can have no place in a work of fiction, in which the author must supply all the details necessary to create the story, whether or not these were included in the informant's account. The anthropologist is bound to refrain from those speculations as to motive that are the novelist's chief interest, and for that very reason his work often seems, to the reader not interested in his theoretical problems, to de-humanize his human subjects. There is ample room for the sympathetic presentation to such

readers of the ways of life, and points of view, of non-European peoples, in a form which will enable them to appreciate the essential aspects of the modern clash of cultures; the factual standard of the scientific worker is not called for here. In this field Mrs. Huxley has done for the Kikuyu peasant what Mrs. Pearl Buck does for the Chinese, and at the same high aesthetic and literary standard.

L. P. MAIR.

**The African To-day and To-morrow.** By Diedrich Westermann. (Published for the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures.) Oxford University Press, 1939. xvi + 355 pp. Price 7s. 6d.

The first edition of Dr. Westermann's survey of the problems of culture contact in Africa was published as an introduction to the work in applied anthropology inaugurated by the African Institute in its five-year plan of research, and each chapter led up to a number of points on which it was suggested that research was called for. Such study has now been carried out, with the Institute's assistance, in various parts of Africa, and the results that have so far been published have done much to increase, in all classes of persons with practical interests in colonial areas, awareness of the existence of these problems. For this reason, perhaps, the suggestions are not reproduced in the present edition. The latter contains the illustrations which appeared in the German version, and two maps showing types of economic life and racial distribution. The latter illustrates the classification into five groups adopted by von Eickstedt in his *Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte*, which is substituted in the text for the old-fashioned division into Bushmen, Negroes and Hamites; the description of the main types of culture, however, still employs the latter categories. In the section on religion the theory of the belief in a high god as a feature characteristic of African religion in general is somewhat amplified, and supported by texts from various areas; an additional section on the social function of religion has been introduced.

The most important development of the last five years in native administration is the South African legislation of 1936. A valuable brief summary of the Native Trust and Land Act has been added to the chapter on economic questions, with a description of the type of development work which has been initiated by the Trust; and the political system established by the Representation of Natives Act is outlined without comment.

There are one or two points which one might have hoped to see modified in the second edition. The statement that Africa's "great riches of raw materials, both "vegetable and mineral . . . surpass even the hopes "entertained at the time of the beginning of the colonial "era," though the wording could perhaps be defended, conveys an impression of optimism for the future which is not entirely justifiable in view of the serious problems of soil erosion that have arisen in almost every area where commercial cultivation has been encouraged.

Again, the chapter on "The Negro's Mind" contains phrases which might seem to imply—though that does not appear to be the author's intention—that the belief in magic indicates a peculiar African mentality. "It is evident that there are differences between the "mental activity of the African and that of the "European. . . . A significant point is that primitive "man is to a large degree dominated by unconscious or "half-conscious impulses." (p. 38). The equation of primitive social organization with primitive psychology, accepted by the lay public on the authority of persons who have made no study of sociology, has led to



confusions of thought which are not likely to be cleared up if sociologists appear to accept the fallacies that underlie it.

L. P. MARR.

**The Social Institutions of the Kipsigis.** By J. G. Peristiany, with an introduction by E. E. Evans-Pritchard. London: Routledge, 1939. xxiv+288 pp., 24 plates. Price 18s.

The Kipsigis, otherwise known as the Lumbwa, are a partly agricultural and partly pastoral tribe of Kenya. A residence of nine months in the country has enabled the author to give a detailed account of their customs and rites. These latter, particularly rites *de passage*, are remarkably numerous.

The Kipsigis subsist chiefly on corn, but as often happens in Africa, cattle play a more important part in their social and religious life. An unusual feature is that the cattle are milked by the women (p. 152).

The author tells us that the Kipsigis "regards women as his inferiors . . . as standing on a grade below that of their menfolk in human dignity." (p. 47). This is strange if true, since to look down upon women is a civilized trait. The savage normally regards the sexes as so different that no question of superiority or inferiority arises.

The theology of the Kipsigis seems vague. The author tells us (p. 3), that the Sun is the only god, but on p. 228 quotes a prayer to the Rain.

The Kipsigis are very bad mothers. The author estimates that at least 25 per cent. of the young children die of pneumonia as a result of unnecessary exposure to chills, and about the same proportion from digestive troubles caused by their being weaned on to raw meat and solid porridge (p. 80). There are no superstitions about twins (p. 77).

The book is clearly, interestingly and convincingly written.

RAGLAN.

### ARCHÆOLOGY.

**Altertumskunde des Zweistromlandes.** By Viktor Christian. Leipzig (Hirsemann), 1939. Vol. I, Parts 1 and 2.

Dr. Christian's monumental work is being issued in parts, which will be a convenience to some purchasers. The samples available for review, dealing with the geography of Mesopotamia, the principal excavated sites, and the prehistoric periods, suffice to show how valuable the series will be as a source-book, collecting material now scattered in separate reports, often difficult of access. They comprise already 166 plates giving plans of excavations and buildings, representative types of pottery, implements, seals, etc., illustrations of sculpture and other expressions of art and a selection of the earliest script-symbols. Throughout the author insists on the distinction between the north—Syria and Assyria—and the south—the later Babylonia. In Part II, dealing with the *Denkmäler* (documents, including both monuments and relics), the treatment is chronological, but north and south are treated separately in each period.

The chronological scheme used differs substantially from that agreed upon by archaeologists in the English and German—actually in the French—Mesopotamia. The general effect is to abbreviate the sequence—a tendency which may be inspired by political considerations. It is true that Dr. Christian introduces, at least in the north, a 'Saktschegözü-Stufe,' not hitherto explicitly distinguished at the beginning of the series; it is characterized essentially by the burnished grey wares such as have been found on virgin soil at Chagar Bazar and in the deepest level at Nineveh. Some sherds from Kish may indicate the extension of the same culture also to Akkad. But the succeeding 'Tell-Halaf-Samarra-Stufe' in the north is treated as contemporary with the al'Ubaid phase of Sumer. Accordingly the succeeding northern phase, represented by TT 1-4 at Arpachiya and strata XIV to XII at Tepe Gawra, is taken as the northern counterpart of the Uruk period in Sumer; though the levels mentioned are characterized throughout by al'Ubaid ware, the latter is distinguished as 'al'Ubaid II' in contradistinction to the 'earlier al'Ubaid ware,' represented in strata XVIII to XVI at Warka (Erech). At the same time in the south the Jemdet Nasr phase is taken as beginning with 'archaic IV' (the temple adorned with the mosaic of clay nails) which the German excavators have always assigned to the Uruk phase. Accordingly the whole development of the pictographic script as sketched by Falkenstein and the evolution of glyptic styles at Erech would fall within the Jemdet Nasr phase.

Similarly in the north Gawra XI-VIII B are assigned to the Jemdet Nasr phase, VIII A and VII representing the *Lagash-Stufe* (Frankfort's 'Early Dynastic'). But the synchronisms between Gawra VI and Early Dynastic II (presumably an early phase of the *Lagash-Stufe* which has not been defined in the volumes before us) are well established. Nor does the reviewer find it easy to accept the distinction here drawn between 'al'Ubaid I' in the south and 'al'Ubaid II' in the north. While I had formerly postulated some such retardation between north and south as Christian here offers, the complete excavation of Tepe Gawra, providing the most reliable culture sequence available in Mesopotamia, seems to reveal rather a strict parallelism though the later achievements of the south admittedly surpass those of the north.

In describing the several cultures Christian not only gives a very reliable and comprehensive characterization of their distinguishing archaeological traits, but also makes a commendable effort to decipher the bases of their economic life from the generally inadequate data afforded by the excavators, though he fails to mention the shell imported from the Persian Gulf to Chagar Bazar as evidence of long-distance trade in the Tel-Halaf period. In dealing with the earliest writing, the form of the tablets and the shape of the stylus are minutely described, and 57 individual signs are illustrated and discussed for the light they show on the equipment of the early Sumerians. But nothing is said about the development of the script illustrated by these tablets, nor yet of the economic background against which writing arose, still less of the immense significance of the invention for human thought. Such points may perhaps be reserved for future volumes. These will be awaited with confidence that the expectations aroused by the first will not be disappointed.

V. G. C.

**Prehistoric Macedonia.** By W. H. Heurtley, O.B.E., M.A., F.S.A. Cambridge U. P., 1939. xxvi+275 pp., plates xxiv (one coloured), 112 figs., 504 drawings in catalogue, 1 map. 4to. Price £3 3s. 0d.

Mr. Heurtley's excavations on Macedonian sites began in 1924, ending seven years later; and preliminary reports, appearing promptly, have kept prehistorians in touch with his discoveries. Each of his expeditions contributed its share to the picture that was being reconstructed of a primitive culture which proved to be interesting for its own sake and important in relation to its neighbours on the north, south and east. We now

have the final results; the considered verdict on many seasons' fieldwork and much study of comparative material. The book is concerned both with what was actually unearthed and with the conclusions to be drawn therefrom, but the three parts into which it is divided have a different function. Part I describes the excavations, Part II the finds and their implications, while Part III contains what is called a catalogue, together with plates and appendices.

Though most of our knowledge of this country in its early days is drawn from Mr. Heurtley's own campaigns, he includes in Part I appreciative and helpful summaries of the achievements of others, so that no site is unrecorded. He has sometimes incorporated sections from his previous publications, a justifiable proceeding under the circumstances; and he gives full particulars about three more or less new settlements: Serbia, Kritsana and Armenochori. As his investigations were usually in the form of soundings, with a view to obtaining ceramic and ethnological evidence from all Macedonian districts west of the Struma, few architectural remains were recovered; the best are from Serbia, where rectangular houses were built of wattle and daub, and good post-holes are preserved.

For him, as for his readers, the most significant antiquities are the pots, which are naturally discussed at length. Some of these, especially the neolithic, are beautiful; all, of course, are an index to the movements of the races which settled in or traded with or migrated out of Macedonia.

The main inferences he draws are as follows. In the Neolithic Period, a colony of Thessalians occupied the Haliakmon valley, where they were invaded by peoples from the Middle Danube. These expanded, not only over Macedonia itself, but down into Thessaly, many of the wares which they produced being evolved under the influence of the original Thessalian styles. The Early Bronze Age, on the other hand, is markedly Anatolian in character, due to a movement westwards out of Asia Minor. Later still, in the Middle Bronze Age, native traditions seem to have reasserted themselves, and were maintained in various aspects in spite of intercourse with Greece and a brief incursion of Lausitz peoples into the Vardar valley.

These are the salient outlines of Macedonian pre-history, but they comprise and involve many detailed observations on contemporary civilizations in adjacent lands, whereby much that happened in northern and central Greece is clarified. The general treatment is, as we should expect, sound and scholarly; the style is admirable; wide learning, though compressed, is not concealed; and the sections on racial contacts form a brilliant climax to the whole. Certain points will, no doubt, be disputed by other experts: the explanation of Dhimini ware on p. 130, for instance, may not appeal to those who believe it to have come from the Black-earth region; while recent developments in Asia Minor, in particular the identification of two-handled beakers in Troy III and IV, do not favour so low a date for Troy II, Thermi and their Macedonian counterparts as is proposed on p. 126; Mr. Heurtley is, however, prepared for this: see note 5 on the same page. Careful consideration will, I hope, be given by Syrian specialists to the cautious hint on p. 113, of a possible connexion between neolithic painted fabrics and those of their own province. And we shall all look forward to the day when archaeologists will be in a position to enlighten us about that part of Macedonia which lies east of the Struma and is suspected of 'going with Bulgaria.'

Part III, the 'catalogue,' is really a key to the principal types of vases and other objects. Each item is illustrated, and, though reconstruction of fragments is

carried out very boldly, we cannot complain, for a more convenient guide has never been invented. In the appendix are valuable notes by Mr. Davies on mining and metal analyses, together with a report by Professor Koumares on the skeleton from Serbia. W. LAMB.

### On 'Dyss' Burial and Beliefs about the Dead during the Stone Age with special regard to South Scandinavia. By Arvid Serner. Lund, 1938.

This volume contains a mass of material on the subject of megalithic graves, particularly on orthostatic dolmens of all ages and countries, collected and collated with great industry. The author's purpose is to demonstrate that what he calls 'dyss' burials—he defines his 'dyss' as 'the rectangular simple dolmen'—wherever found have ultimately a common source of distribution. He ascribes it to a 'not very highly developed but 'advanced stone-age culture' which he believes to have originated in Transjordan, and to have been carried westward by a migration of 'white future 'Europeans.' While the industry exhibited in collating authorities is wholly admirable, the work is marred by too wholehearted a devotion to the 'Kulturkreise' school, and by an apparent failure to recognize the facts that cultural and physical characteristics may be independently of one another, and that convergence of types is a familiar phenomenon both in material and social culture. Thus he apparently regards the 'dyss,' wherever it is found, as a form of burial deliberately intended to protect the deceased against demons, and as earlier than and independent of the 'passage' tomb. But orthostatic dolmens may evolve from very different origins, and while they may be in some cases degenerations of a 'passage' grave, they seem to be equally in others (e.g., the stone cist of the Khasias) an adaptation to an untractable material of a jar or a stone urn which is completely un-'dyss'-like (cf. *J.A.S.B.* [N.S.], XXV, 1, and *M.A.S.B.*, XI, 1, pp. 6, 36, 39). In the same way the author vituperates other parts of his work by attempting to prove that not only the stone of the dolmen but almost all things associated with burial ceremonies are apotropaic, a word which seems to assume with him an almost talismanic virtue. Water in ritual he regards as purely protective, but it is none the less often a fertilizer, and the author is wrong in supposing that the association of illness with the neglect of washing is typical of Nagas other than the Angami. So, too, the *Ficus*, though it may certainly house infantile and harmless ghosts, also, and quite as often, houses very dangerous ones, while through its milky juice it is again associated with ideas of fertilization. It is true that the fear of death is not at all equivalent to a fear of the dead, a point well made on p. 26, but it is impossible to follow the statement on p. 24 that a fear of ghostly activity is not equivalent to a fear of the dead.

In a number of other statements also the facts stated seem open to question. Of certain South Indian tribes we are told that 'outside these older ethnic elements, 'stone is hardly used in connexion with burial.' But all over the Deccan it is a recognized principle that burial in a stone-lined grave is the prerogative of craftsmen and artisans—carpenters, who cannot afford cremation, in contradistinction to agriculturists. Authorities have not always been used with care. The miniature dolmen of the Thado *Buh Ai* ceremony is very far from being a tomb (p. 93) and the reference (on p. 24) to p. 146 of Hodson's *Naga Tribes of Manipur* should be to p. 118. The numerous misprints—e.g., 'av' for 'of' (p. 50), 'stove' for 'stone' (p. 89)—some of them such as 'contagiously' are

are probably the inevitable result of printing a very laudable effort to widen the work. Emphasizing as it does the influence of affection for the dead rather than the fear of them, the work should act, in addition to its value as a dolmenic compendium, as a useful corrective to the idea that a fear of the dead is the sole source of funerary rites, but it is just as erroneous to regard affection as the sole source as it would be to ignore it altogether. The addition of an index would have made the work of greater value. J. H. H.

**The Cemeteries of Armant.** By Sir Robert Mond and Oliver H. Myers. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1937. 2 vols, 300 pp., 75 pls.

**35** The value of these two volumes lies not in spectacular digging and in magnificent finds, but in the method of presentation. Anyone can put a spade into the ground. Anyone can put an archaeologist to turn a curio into a piece of history. Nothing less spectacular than the excavations at Armant can hardly be imagined. Potsherds, flint implements, broken stone objects—all but a few of known types—were all that rewarded the excavator. Yet out of this very uninspiring material Mr. Myers has succeeded in producing a work of the greatest importance. It is not a book to read lightly, but a book to study and to keep on one's shelves for continual reference. I say 'a volume' advisedly, for the text is worthy of better illustrations, and in looking through the volume of plates one is constantly reminded of the proverb about spoiling a ship for a ha'porth of tar. I refer to the photographs, especially the photographs of pottery. The photographs on pl. 74 are published on a much larger scale.

Every object has been recorded, drawn, photographed, measured, and—where possible—analyzed. This makes a complete record, not for this excavation only, but as a reference book. All excavators need a corpus of Egyptian pottery, and Mr. Myers is right to stress that need. It is a task which requires team-work, but it is doubtful if a sufficient number of voluntary workers can be found for so tedious and difficult a job. Each individual worker may make his own corpus, but one worker alone can never cover the whole field. Mr. Myers may perhaps later see his way to organizing such a work. Mr. Myers is at his best when discussing material objects, but he gets rather out of his depth in his theories as to the hippopotamus goddess. He has not taken into account the effect of early totemism on the beliefs of the later people. With this trifling exception, Sir Robert Mond and Mr. Myers must be most heartily congratulated on their book. M. A. MURRAY.

**The 'Numeral Signs' of the Mohenjo-daro Script.** By Alan S. C. Ross. (Mem. Arch. Survey of India, No. 57.) Delhi, 1938. 4to, 28 pp., with one plate. Price 3s. 6d.

**36** This is a comprehensive and ingenious study of certain characters in the Mohenjo-daro script which appear from the combinations in which they occur in inscriptions to have had numerical values. Mr. Ross makes

certain assumptions as to the direction in which inscriptions should be read, which are agreed with the conclusions of Gadd, Sidney Smith, Langdon, Marshall, and Hunter, but does not establish them here; but he leaves it in suspense whether the longer texts should be read always in the same direction or alternately (*bonstrophedon*); and whether some similar signs may be variants of the same symbol. He rejects the obvious hypothesis (1) that the numeral signs are ideograms signifying actual numbers, (2) that they represent words for numerals, or parts of such words, in favour of a phonetical interpretation, probably syllabic. He

was decimal, with specific indication for '12,' like our use of 'dozen,' and draws some conclusions as to the affinities of the Mohenjo-daro language, with primitive Indonesian, which are philological, not mathematical.

What the layman wants to know is how Mr. Ross recognizes certain signs as 'numeral signs' at all. In Egyptian, Minoan, and our own 'Roman numerals,' the proof is the occurrence of a group of items followed by a total which tallies with them: for example, an association (in the same text) of  $\equiv$ ,  $\equiv$ ,  $\equiv$ ,  $\equiv$ ,  $\equiv$ ,  $\equiv$ , followed by O, make it certain that  $\equiv$  means 'one,' — means 'ten,' and O means 'one-hundred.' On Plate II Mr. Ross gives several queer compound signs: but how would he refute the suggestion that they were musical 'notes.' JOHN L. MYRES.

**The Bronze Axe: The Seven Stages of its Development in Britain (2000-500 B.C.).** By W. Foot Walker. Hull, 1939 (Museum Aids No. 3). pp. 40; map and illustrations. Price 1s. 6d.

**37** This is a handy popular account of the development of bronze axes and polstaves in Britain, illustrated by examples and ancient bronze-workers moulds, from the Hull Museum. Besides the axes themselves, Mr. Walker describes their use, hafting, geographical distribution, and the inferences from the mode of their transport from places of origin. There are chemical analyses of examples of each type, and a bibliography. The Department of Adult Education, of University College, Hull, is to be commended for this addition to a very useful series of guides. J. L. M.

**Felsmalereien in Innerafrika: ein Bilderwerk geschichtlicher und vorgeschichtlicher Kunst.** By Ludwig and Margit Kohl-Larsen. (Deutsche Africa-Expedition, 1934-1936.) Stuttgart, 1938. 96 pp., pls. 32, illustrations and maps. M. 18 (unbound, M.15).

**38** The region covered by this survey lies to the north of the central railway, and a short distance inland from the coastline between Zanzibar and Mombassa. A number of painted rock-shelters were studied, though in only one does there seem to have been excavation. The reproductions are interesting and several "styles" can be determined, but without the associated industries any attempt at dating the painting would be foolhardy. Much further investigation is required in Tanganyika before even the main outline of its prehistory can be established. M. C. B.

#### GENERAL.

**Race and Civilisation.** By I. Harris. London: Williams and Norgate, 1939. 140 pp. Price 3s. 6d.

**39** The preface states that part of this book was published in 1921, and it is difficult to see on what grounds it has been re-issued eighteen years later. In spite of the naïve boast in the *Introduction* that it makes no concessions to popular prejudice, it is crammed with

now familiar lay delusions unsubstantiated by evidence, such as that it is manifest that a "wide gulf exists" between one race and another in regard to moral and "mental calibre"; and "Hunt came to the conclusion" that the mixing up (*sic*) of Negroes and Whites "resulted in individuals much lower than either" (p. 23). There is also a great deal of mention of such vague terms as "cosmic facts, cosmic processes, destiny

"of a nation," and so forth. We are told that: "War is a test of national fitness" (p. 134). "The world is a cosmic agency which works in the interests of humanity" (p. 138). "It was necessary that the Semites precede the Aryans as the petals precede the blossom" (p. 114). "The Semitic genius is unsuitable to a scientific age" (p. 114). Altogether an interesting book as a guide to the incredibly muddled thinking which can result from the political reformer who dabbles in science. ROSEMARY FIRTH.

**Primitive Races of Today.** By J. W. Page. London: Harrap, 1938, 347 pp. Price 8s. 6d.

**40** It is difficult to see what need this book, written in very simple language, and dealing with a wide range of primitive peoples from the standpoint of the geographer, has to fill after the publication of that of Professor Daryll Forde. Sixteen cultures are described in Africa, Asia, Australia, America and the Pacific, under the headings of Hunters, Fishers, Gardeners and Herders. There are clear maps and plenty of photographs, but I must confess I found this a dull book.

ROSEMARY FIRTH.

**Zapotecan Antiquities.** By S. Linné. The Ethnographical Museum of Sweden, Publ. 4. Stockholm, 1938.

**41** This book provides a good summary of the present knowledge of the Zapotec culture. Part I describes briefly the country and its inhabitants and the historical data, and gives an excellent account of Mitla and Monte Albán, with special reference to the work of Professor Alfonso Caso. Part II deals fully with the rather meagre accounts of Zapotec culture in the early Spanish writers and supplements this with such archaeo-

logical information regarding it as is available and also discusses the question of the age of the culture. Part III is entirely devoted to description and illustration of the remarkable funerary urns, and finally there is a summary with conclusions.

The work is a most useful one, and students will be glad to have such a valuable account of the Zapotec in English. Particularly good is the author's discussion of the age and interrelationship of the various Zapotec ceramic periods, a subject on which he speaks with authority owing to his own work at Teotihuacan and elsewhere. This question of ceramics is now (one may say) the burning one in Middle American research, both on the Mexican and the Maya side, and will no doubt one day settle the difficulties of the traditional history of Mexico and of the Maya correlation question. It is interesting to note that the results of Zapotec ceramic research, so far as they go, would appear to support the Thompson-Teeple correlation, a result which emerges also from ceramic research elsewhere. The Zapotec occupied an important position geographically, being situated between the two great civilizations, and seem to have had extensive trade relations.

One cannot agree with the author's remark that the absence of numbers over 13 shows that the Zapotec did not fix the place of a day in a 20-day month of a year of 365 days. The existence of year-bearers shows that a 365-day year was recognized, and it is most probable that the Zapotec and Mixtec, like the Aztec, had months of 20 days but did not use them for dating purposes, considering the year-bearer as sufficient, as indeed it is, though with a few exceptions of 20 or 21 days in some cases.

The book is well translated into English and the English of the translation is excellent. RICHARD C. E. LONG.

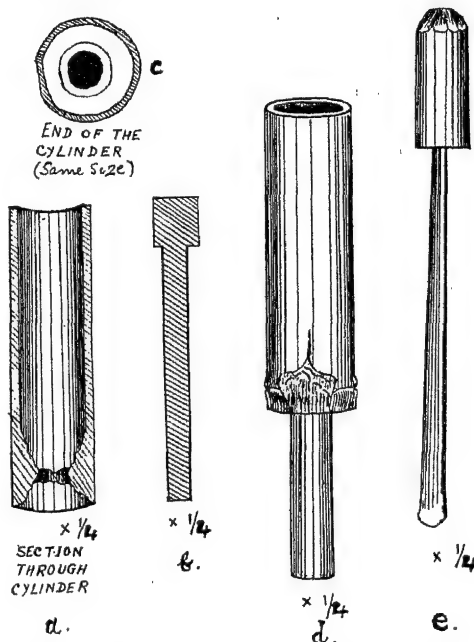
## CORRESPONDENCE.

**A Nicobarese Betel-Nut Crusher.** (Cf. MAN, 1935, 112; 1936, 93; 1937, 169, 215, 216.) Illustrated.

**42** Sir,—Since the writer identified the four iron objects from Adichanallur as mortars and pestles, used for crushing betel-nuts (MAN, 1936, 93; 1937, 215, 216) he has been on the lookout for a specimen of mortar and pestle among the primitive peoples of India. With a view to finding it among the betel-nut chewing peoples the author inquired for it among the Nicobarese. Through the courtesies of Dr. H. S. Rao of the Zoological Survey of India, Indian Museum, Calcutta, and Dr. N. G. Nagarkar of Port Blair, Andaman Islands, he was able to obtain a specimen of a betel-nut crusher which is described below. Such a betel-nut crusher was also mentioned by E. H. Man in his 'Descriptive Catalogue of objects made and used by the Natives of the Nicobar Islands,' Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXIV (April, 1895), p. 107.

The betel-nut crusher consists of a bamboo cylinder, 147 mm. long and 24 mm. in diameter (a), with a hole (c) at the nodal base. The cylinder is fixed steady into the ground with the help of a wooden peg (b) inserted through the cylinder and the nodal hole as shown in (d). The wooden peg is 144 mm. long. The crusher or pestle consists of an iron rod (e), 190 mm. long mounted at the top by a wooden handle, 65 mm. long and has a sharp flattened end. Betel-nuts are inserted into the bamboo cylinder to be crushed at the top of the wooden peg by the iron crusher. The specimen was obtained from a Nicobarese of Nankauri, Nicobar Islands.

A marked general similarity of this article with the objects from Adichanallur can be seen from the above figures. The iron crusher is very similar to those of the



FIGS. a-e. A NICOBARESE BETEL-NUT CRUSHER.

Adichanallur specimens, described as pistons of fire-pistons by Mr. Raghavan (MAN, 1935, 112). In the

latter specimens the iron rods are also not tightly fitted, except in his fig. 1, which is, however, not so clear from the figure, and all have flattened ends. This is quite clear in the Nicobarese specimen and there can be hardly any doubt that the Adichanallur objects are mortars and pestles, possibly meant for crushing betelnuts. E. H. Man also mentioned the presence of imported metal mortars and pestles among the Nicobarese, and more light can be thrown on the matter when such a metal object is found. S. S. SARKAR. *Rose Research Institute, Calcutta.*

#### Rock Paintings in Dutch New Guinea. (Cf. MAN, 1940, 21.)

**43** SR.—Mr. Page Rowe (MAN, 1940, 21) scorns Dr. Röder's interpretation of hand-prints and other figures, and suggests that they were done 'just for the fun of the thing.' This suggestion involves two theories:—

1. That it is amusing to make hand-prints; if so, it is strange that the practice is not more general.
2. That people readily strike out new lines 'just for the fun of the thing.' The fact is that none of us, whether savage or civilized, ever does 'for the fun of the thing' anything that is not sanctioned by tradition.

RAGLAN.

[Lord Raglan's letter illustrates his opinion.—Ed.]

#### Village Names and Tribal Migrations.

**44** SR.—While working on tribal migrations it occurred to me that a study of the terms used for daughter settlements, i.e., offshoots from the main or parent town, might afford a clue to movements. It did not, but the list of terms is interesting, as it might give indications of the cultural psychology of the tribe at the time when offshoots become part of their agricultural development.

Thus, in some tribes the term appears to be a locative and indicates 'place of,' e.g., the term *La* in Lamenda, in others it means 'born of,' as *Mme* in Mmeinyen, or *Nna* in Nna'gum, or *Umu* as in Umukoroshe; while in others it means 'people of' as *Ikot*, in Ikot-Ekpene and in Hausa, apparently 'house of' as in Giddan Ado.

I append a list showing the analogous term used in various tribes in Nigeria. M. D. W. JEFFREYS. *Bamenda, British Cameroons.*

Division	Tribe	Generic for village
Bamenda	Nkoni	La e.g., Laakoni
"	Ngemba	" Lamenda
"	Bafut	" Labufui
"	Bum	Lak : Laga Lagabum
"	Bamessan	Ket e Ket inse
"	Babungo	Et e Et ebungo
"	Banso	Wo Wonso
"	Meta	Mme Mmeinyen
"	Ngi	" Mmutwi
"	Bali	Ngo Ngonballi
"	Fungom	Nna Nna'esu
"	Wum	" Nna'gum
"	Age	Benna Bennatidi
French Cameroons	Duala	Bona Bonabevi
Victoria	Bakweri	Bonya Likomba
Calabar	Ibibio	Ikot Ikot-Ekpen
"	Andoni	Okur Okurile
"	Aro	Obo Oblonne
Owerri	Igbo	Umu Umukoroshe
"	Bende	Ohia Ohafia
Benue	Hausa	Giddan Giddan Ado

#### Some Superstitions and Practices among the Muhammadans of Twenty-four Parganas.

**45** SR.—According to Muhammadan Law, a Muhammadan can marry as many as four wives at a time; and he can divorce any or all of them at any

time. There is no distinction between the legal status of the different wives; and according to the precepts of the Prophet the husband is bound to observe equality amongst all his wives.

But in actual practice among the Begali Muhammadans of the District of the Twenty-four Parganas, as well as among the up-country millhands of the Barrackpore Sub-Division, we find a considerable social distinction between the first wife and the subsequent wives. The first wife is described as *Bibahi*, from the Bengali word *Bibaha*, 'to marry'; the subsequent wives are described as *Nikahi*, from the Arabic word *Nikah*, 'to marry.' The sense in which the two words *Bibahi* and *Nikahi* are used, although etymologically and legally they mean the same thing, makes a great deal of difference. The *Bibahi* wife is regarded as a truly and properly wedded wife, whom it is almost a sacrilege to divorce. The *Nikahi* wife is regarded as a glorified and permanent concubine, whom the husband can divorce at any time without assigning any reason and incurring any social opprobrium. The difference in status is reflected in Bengal proverbs:—(1) *Nikar Magh ar thikar jami, oth balilai utithe hobe*; i.e., a *Nikahi* wife is like a tenant-at-will, she must vacate or leave as and when ordered. (2) *Lal gamchha ar Nikar Magh, dui soman*; i.e., a *Nikahi* wife is as cheap as an ordinary red napkin.

There is a corresponding difference in the status of sons by *Bibahi* and *Nikahi* wives, although such difference is less evident and less serious.

The Bengali Muhammadans observe certain food taboos and assign theological reasons for them. A Bengali Jola would not eat crabs (and in a lesser degree), lobsters, shrimps, *magur*, etc. The reason he would assign is that these creatures have not been slaughtered in the orthodox style, or as he would say, 'no *halal* has been performed on them.' But he would take ordinary fish, i.e., fishes with gills; and when pressed with the same theoretical theological objection, he would answer that the Prophet Muhammad has performed *Halal* on all fishes, for all time, by placing his sword in water; and it is for this reason that the gills of fish appear as slits. However unhistoric and fantastic the explanation may seem to be, it governs the conduct of thousands of Bengali Muhammadans.

Among certain classes it is popularly supposed to be the religious duty of every pious Muhammadan to kill a chameleon (Bengali—*girgity*), or to throw at least three stones or clods of earth at it, whenever and wherever he finds it. The reason assigned is that when, at the battle of Holy Kerbala, the Prophet's grandson Hassan was hiding himself among the sand pits, it was a chameleon that drew the attention of the enemy upon him by moving its head up and down and constantly chirping, and Hassan was slaughtered with as many as 70 wounds. So to avenge the betrayal of Hassan by the chameleon, every chameleon should be killed, or at least maimed.

Spider's webs are not to be removed or destroyed in certain months. For did not a spider's web, suddenly woven at the entrance to the cave of Mount Thor, protect the Prophet and Abu Bekr, when they took shelter in it during their flight from Mecca, which was the beginning of Hegira. Muhammad's pursuers thought that if there was such a spider's web at the entrance to the cave Muhammad could not have entered it with the web remaining unbroken. The account given in Irving, *Life of Mahomet*, p. 90, is somewhat different. But whatever may be the true account the belief and the practice is there.

Calcutta.

JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA.





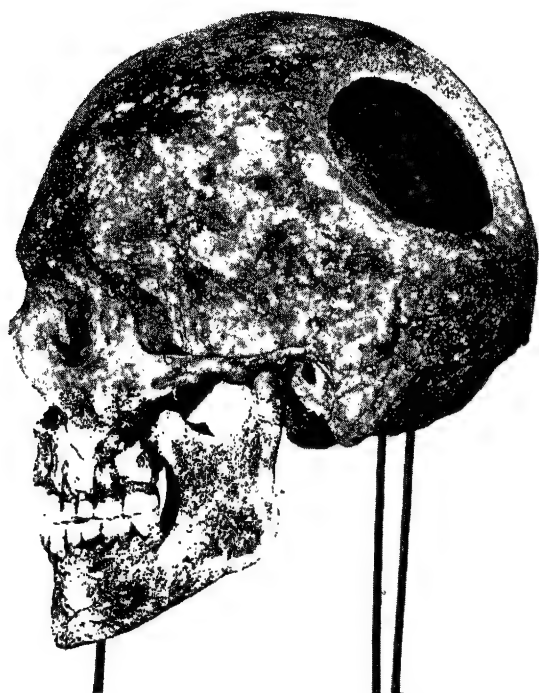


1



2

PRIMITIVELY HOLED SKULL (LATE NEOLITHIC PERIOD) EXCAVATED IN MAIDEN CASTLE, 1937



3



4

SURGICALLY HOLED SKULL (EARLY BRONZE AGE) EXCAVATED IN CRICHEL DOWN, DORSET, 1938



# MAN

## A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE  
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

XL, 46-59

MARCH, 1940

### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

With Plate C.

**A COMPARISON BETWEEN TWO ROUNDELS REMOVED BY SURGICAL HOLING FROM TWO PREHISTORIC SKULLS, LATELY EXCAVATED IN THE COUNTY OF DORSET; TOGETHER WITH A FULL DESCRIPTION OF THE PUSH-PLOUGH METHOD OF OPERATION THAT WAS PROBABLY EMPLOYED.** *By T. Wilson Parry, M.D., B.Chir. Cantab., F.S.A. Illustrated.*

**46** Of the two important skulls, surgically holed in prehistoric times, the first was excavated at Maiden Castle in 1937, by Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler, M.C., Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries.

The second skull was found by Mr. Stuart Piggott, F.S.A., in 1938, in an undisturbed grave-pit on Crichel Down, beneath a low round barrow, associated with a Beaker of Type 'B.' The burial necessitates its belonging to the Early Bronze Age, rather than the late Neolithic Period, but here is an anomaly which calls for attention. In the Early Bronze Age the inhabitants used to cremate their dead, but there were evidently exceptions to the rule, and this specimen found by Mr. Piggott must have been one of those rare exceptions.

Now the same kind of operation had been performed in both the Maiden Castle and the Crichel Down skulls, in spite of the fact that they belonged to different epochs; the Maiden Castle to the late Neolithic Period and the Crichel Down to the Early Bronze Age. A noticeable advance had been made in the technicality of the operation, since the removal of a large roundel was more difficult and arduous than the elimination of a piece of bone reduced to dust by scraping as had hitherto been the method employed.

There are points of similarity that occur in the two cases: (1) They were both found in the County of Dorset; the former in the south, one-and-a-half miles west of Dorchester, and the latter to the north-east of Blandford.

(2) The roundels that were removed came from similar sites of the two skulls, namely, their respective left parietal bones.

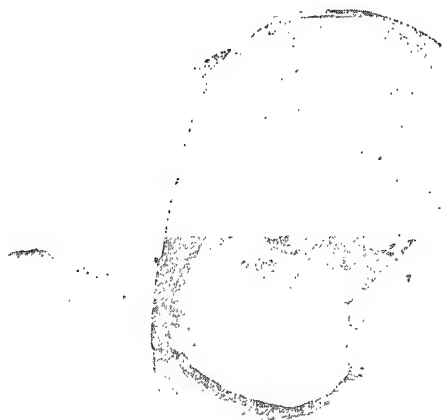


FIG. 5.—PRIMITIVELY HOLED SKULL (LATE NEOLITHIC PERIOD) EXCAVATED IN MAIDEN CASTLE, 1937.

The *Maiden Castle* one was roughly oval in shape, the long axis of the ellipse lying transversely. Its dimensions were :—

Laterally ... ..	65 m.m.
Ant-post ... ..	52 m.m.
Oblique bevelled surface of bone ...	5-8 m.m.
Vert. thickness of skull ... ..	5-7 m.m.

The *Crichel Down* one was roughly circular in shape. Its dimensions were :—

Laterally ... ..	60 m.m.
Ant-post ... ..	70 m.m.
Oblique bevelled surface of bone ...	9-14 m.m.

(a) Vert. thickness of skull near sagittal suture ... .. 14 m.m.

(b) At the left temporal line ... .. 9.5 m.m.

(c) In region of the asterior ... .. 5 m.m.

The *Crichel Down* skull was altogether thicker and heavier than the *Maiden Castle* one.

#### *The Push-Plough Operation.*

I took as a model of this operative procedure the illustration of a specimen which is exhibited in the Geological Section of the Museum of Lisbon. It was discovered in the Grotto of Casa da Moura at Peniche in Portugal (fig. 6).



FIG. 6. THE PENICHE SKULL (MODEL).  
(From *Medizinische Welt*, 18 July, 1931).

It consists of a single continuous curving furrow with both ends united. This furrow, in the *Maiden Castle* and *Crichel Down* skulls, cuts into their

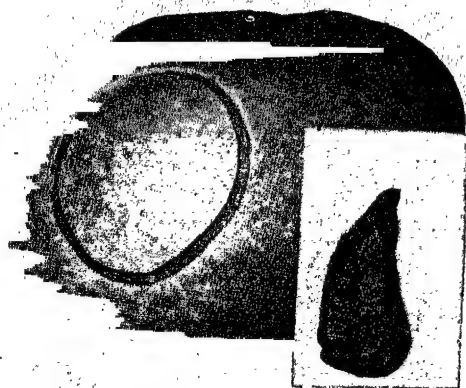


FIG. 7. THE PUSH-PLOUGH METHOD: FIRST STAGE.



FIG. 8. THE PUSH-PLOUGH METHOD: SECOND STAGE.



FIG. 9. THE PUSH-PLOUGH METHOD: FINAL STAGE.

respective left parietal bones at the place of election, avoiding all sutures. I look upon this, the primary furrow, as the first stage of the removal of a large roundel of bone from the skull. In the model-example, either the Medicine Man found it would have been too long and exhausting a manipulation, if he went on to the bitter end, or the patient of his own accord might have ended it, so it resulted in an *unfinished operation*.

This method, which I have never seen described elsewhere, appeals to me to be the only one likely to fulfil the efficient removal of a large roundel. In my experiments, associated with the Push-Plough method, I chose a Neolithic beaked implement of flint and used it in the manner of a plough, holding it firmly between the index finger and thumb of the right hand, and pushing it forward with some sustained effort to carve out first a thin, shallow furrow and deepening it later by burrowing through the diploe down to the inner table of the skull and eventually perforating it. When sufficiently loosened, I used a lever with one of my implements and freed the roundel, accompanied by some crackling of the vitreous layer.

I think the method of the Push-plough will speak for itself. I give an illustration of the Peniche specimen itself (fig. 6), also the three experimental stages of removal of a large roundel from a recent skull by this method (figs. 7, 8, 9). All my initial experiments may be seen in the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum. (Cf. *Proc. III. Int. Congr. Hist. Medecine*, London, 17-22 July, 1922.)

The Maiden Castle specimen was the first of its kind found in Great Britain, from which a large roundel of bone had been removed intact, and therefore was unique. The following year the

Crichel Down specimen made its appearance. It seems almost incredible that these two skulls should have lain in the ground about four thousand years and then have been unearthed almost simultaneously within a few miles.

I have never believed that the owners of the skulls lived after their respective operations, if such were performed during life. There is no proof that they did, for no reparation in the bony tissue is observable. Moreover, if 'surgical' 'holing' had taken place during life, the time taken for such an operation would have been so long, and so tedious, that death in either instance might have intervened before recovery.

Summing up all the facts of these two surprising finds, I have great difficulty in believing that the neolithic surgeon actually planned for the sake of practice to operate upon a dead body. I have a high opinion of the operator and feel that he would have taken infinite pains over any undertaking, not swerving for a second from what he would regard as a sacred duty. I am driven to the opinion that both these men must have died during, or immediately after the operation, and the Priest-Doctor would reverently replace the roundel over the opening in the head and close the ceremony of burial in respectful silence, knowing full well the people's faith, and their belief in the World of Spirits.

**NOTES ON SOME NORTHERN RHODESIAN BOW STANDS.** *By W. V. Brelsford, Chinsali, Northern Rhodesia. Illustrated.*

**47** 1. *Introduction.*—One of the most intriguing forms of native ironwork found in Central Africa is the object described by Cullen Young and others, before its function among some tribes was ascertained, as a trident.<sup>1</sup> As the illustrations show it was an apt description. The origin and significance of the form are lost in past history, but the object is used to-day as a bow-and-arrow stand among some tribes; the weapons resting in two forward curving prongs whilst the stand is leaned against a wall or is held upright in the ground by the main shaft.

Widespread native history and other cultural evidence is to the effect that the original home of such bow-stands was the Lunda-Luba kingdoms

of central Africa, and that they were once closely associated with chieftainship. One of the earliest notes of them is by von Wissmann, who sketches one among the objects belonging to the Bashilange of the Congo. It may be that the 'sceptre' he captured, which he said was the only one left among the Luba, was the same kind of object.<sup>2</sup> Among the Babemba, a Northern Rhodesian tribe of Lunda origin, these bow stands are still associated with chieftainship and have a ritual and a history connected to them. They are known as '*kapanda ka-buta*'—'the forked rest for the bow' (plural—*tupanda*). More will be said concerning the Bemba specimens later.

The weapon stands described and illustrated by Colle, *Les Baluba*, are much more elaborate than any recorded so far in Northern Rhodesia. He also mentions a forked weapon-stand made of wood. Verhulpen, *Baluba et Balubaisés*, on

<sup>1</sup> See MAN, 1929, 147; 1930, 56; 1931, 44; 1932, 47; 1934, 188, 209; 1935, 32, 87, 105, 106; 1936, 49; 1938, 79; also T. Cullen Young, 'Notes on the History of the Tumbuka Kamanga Peoples,' *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 63 (1933).

<sup>2</sup> Von Wissmann, *Through Equatorial Africa*, 1885, pp. 310 and 313.

several occasions mentions the fact that iron bow-stands were part of the regalia of Luba chiefs, but he does not illustrate or describe them. That such objects were not unknown to Northern Rhodesian tribes of other than Luba-Lunda descent may be illustrated by a drawing in Mackintosh, *Coillard of the Zambezi*, of Lewanika, the Paramount Chief of the Marozi as a warrior. The battle axe of the warrior is shown resting close to his hand in a three-pronged stick standing upright in the ground.

Outside Northern Rhodesia several allied forms have been recorded. A forked spear-rest, the property of an Anuak Chief,<sup>3</sup> has been seen on the borders of the Sudan and Abyssinia, and the Wabena of Tanganyika possess iron objects with two prongs that are kept in the relic-huts of chiefs.<sup>4</sup>

2. *Various Tribal Specimens*.—Although among some tribes the function of the 'trident' as a bow stand is well known, in other tribes its history and function have been either forgotten or never known. For instance, in one part of Southern Rhodesia such objects are worshipped as 'gods.'<sup>5</sup>

That in possession of Chitanda, Chief of the Balenje in Northern Rhodesia (figs. 6, 7) was formerly used as a musical instrument, being struck with a piece of iron to produce various notes. The Chief informed a District Officer that according to the notes produced the people knew whether they were being called together for war, council, or emergency. It is interesting to note that the name given to the bow stand is *lusonsolo* or *litango*. *Lusonsolo* is the name given by the Lala, an adjoining tribe, to the double bell, a specimen of which has come from this tribe to the Livingstone Memorial Museum. The Lala themselves have several bow-stands in their area, and they call them by the usual name *kapanda*. The double bell was associated with chieftainship, so it may be that the Lenje, among whom there is no record of a bow and arrow cult, have termed the bow-stand *lusonsolo* merely as a chiefly relic. The Lenje legend concerning their instrument is that it was made, specially as a musical instrument, by a skilled worker for Chief Chitanda Shagumbo, who ruled about 120 years ago. This

scanty information is all that has been gathered from the Lenje themselves, but there is a Bemba explanation of the origin of the Lenje bow-stand, and it will be told later.

In the bush close to Chiwele in the Mkushi district in Northern Rhodesia are a collection of objects standing on the ground. Among them is an old and battered bow-stand and many broad blades of spears. The surrounding peoples are Lala and they claim to have found the objects in that place when they first arrived at their present home more than a century ago(?). They preserve them just as they found them, for they believe that some day their original owners will one day return to claim them. They must not be taken away but there seems to be nothing to prevent them from being freely handled.

Another stand is well known amongst the Lala, and seems to be under the care of Chief Chiwele, one of the most important of Lala chiefs. It is placed upright in the ground a few miles from his present village. There is no covering over it and it always remains in its present position, even when the Chief's village is moved. There seems to be no ritual connected with it, although it is said that if it ever falls to the ground it is an omen of disaster, *mupamba*. Several more stands are said to be buried on a hill in Lala area on the Muchinga escarpment, close to a site where there was once a battle between the Ngoni and the Lala. The Lala history of such objects is vague, and although their name is *kapanda* they tell little of them except that Lala chiefs had them in the days of Chiwele Makumba, an important chief, who held sway over an area west of the Luapula before the tribe migrated into Northern Rhodesia.

In 1910 Colonel A. Stephenson found one also in Lala country a few miles east of Mkushi. It was on a grave and close by was another grave surrounded by the decayed remains of about fifty or more elephants. There were no villages near the site. Enquiries resulted in no information except that the local natives knew it was there.

The boundary between Tanganyika Territory and Northern Rhodesia cuts through the Lungu tribe, and in 1921, when Tafuna IV of the Northern Rhodesia section was elected Paramount, the tribal relics were taken away by the Tanganyika claimant. For fifteen years Tafuna could not conclude his inheritance ceremonies but

<sup>3</sup> G. L. Elliot Smith, *MAN*, 1935, 106.

<sup>4</sup> A. T. and G. M. Culwick in *MAN*, 1934, 188; 1935, 105.

<sup>5</sup> W. H. H. Nicolle, 'A Few Notes on Baka Chimombe,' *Nada*, 14, 1936-37.

finally, in 1936, amid much pomp and ceremony, the relics were handed back to him. Among them was an old battered bow-stand. Unfortunately the only photograph taken of it at the time is hardly clear enough for reproduction.

Judging from the periodic appearances of bow-stands among chieftainly relics it seems quite probable that there are numbers of them still extant among the heirlooms of obscure tribes. They will probably come to light as the old sanctity fades before the advance of sophistication.

Of other specimens in Northern Rhodesia, apart from those recorded among the Babemba, Dr. Richards records that these bow-stands are also held as sacred objects by the Babisa and Baunga. She found one on the grave of a chief on Chilubi island, in Lake Bangweulu, and another in the burial ground of Nsamba, one of the Baunga chiefs.<sup>6</sup> Kalimankonde, the Paramount chief of the Baunga, has one himself which is kept in his *babanye* hut (relic hut). It is not in any way sacred, and he occasionally carries it about with him and will show it to any stranger. Its history is similar to that given for most of the others—that it came from Kola, the original home of his ancestors, and is a chieftainly heirloom.

In 1918 a bow-stand was found in the bush in the area of the Bemba Chieftainess Chanda-mukulu. The finder took it to her but she said that it was 'a Bisa type' of bow-stand and passed it on to the Bisa Chief Kabanda in the Chinsali district. He still has it in his *babanye* hut. I have not been able to see it yet, but from a drawing made by the son of the finder it seems to be more like the one possessed by Chitanda than the usual Bemba specimens.

The late E. H. B. Goodall, Senior Provincial Commissioner, once had two old bow-stands in his possession, both obtained in Northern Rhodesia, one of them from the Luwingu district. I was informed that one of them was of copper, but I have not been able to verify this assertion.

3. *Museum Specimens.*—The bow-stands described above are still in the places mentioned, but there are four other specimens, now in the Livingstone Memorial Museum in Northern Rhodesia, and they, too, were found in the Territory.

Two of the specimens have much of their iron-

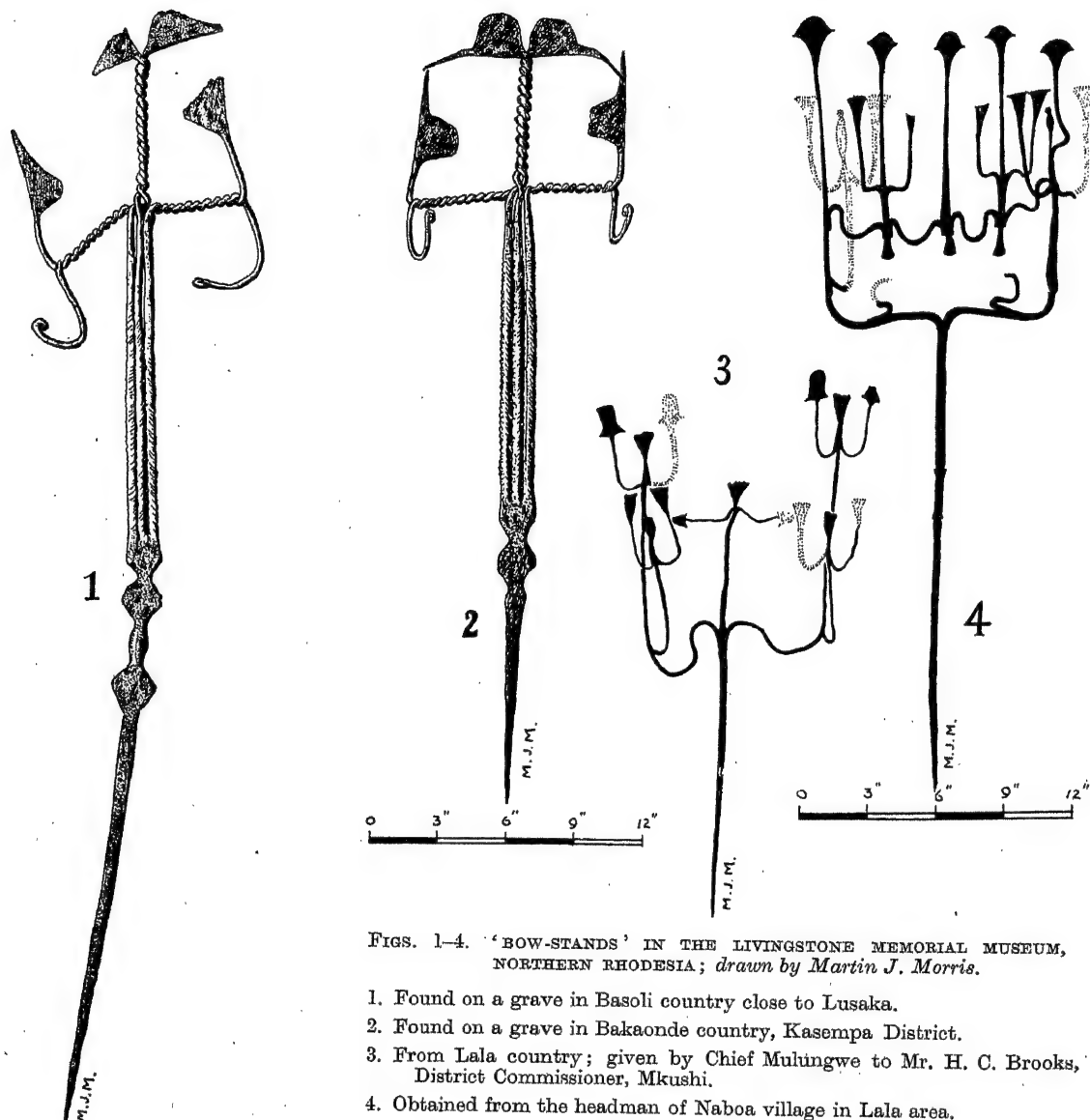
work, both in the stem and in the prongs, composed of strands of twisted iron. Such specimens seem rarer in Northern Rhodesia than recorded ones of straight iron, and in the future when fuller records are available it may be possible to distinguish between these and other forms from the point of view of origin and descent. The two types also follow differing designs as well as differing forms. This is not the place for theorizing about the two types. The Lala and Bemba specimens I have seen are all of the straight iron type; von Wissmann's illustration of a Bashilange specimen shows a twisted type, and the only two I have seen in Northern Rhodesia of this latter type are these two in the Museum from Bakaonde and BaSoli country respectively.

The larger of the two twisted iron stands (fig. 1, also the largest of all four specimens in the Museum) was found by a European on a grave in Basoli country close to Lusaka. It was placed upright on the grave which also had other objects on it. The local natives stated that they knew nothing about the bow-stand or where it came from. Some suggested that it might have been made by some BaChiponda who are a clan of the adjoining Balenje and are the only iron workers in the area. But other informants seemed to be well acquainted with the usual explanation of the origin and function of the object. This is, that it was made at Kola during the time of Chief Mwata Yamvu and that only chiefs were allowed to possess such things: that it was used as a bow-and-arrow carrier, and always carried by a special member of the bodyguard who set it up in the ground by the chief's side wherever he went. No explanation could be given as to why some should be inherited and some left on graves.

A similar vague explanation was given with the specimen (fig. 2) found on a grave in Bakaonde country in the Kasempa district. This also is of twisted iron, but is not as large as the Lusaka one.

The two other exhibits (of straight iron) came from the Lala country. One of them (fig. 3) belonged to Chief Mulungwe, who presented it to Mr. H. C. Brooks, the District Commissioner, Mkushi. Both Mulungwe and Paramount Chief Mboroma stated that the *kapanda* was 'as old as the Balala,' and that it was a bow-and-arrow carrier such as was once possessed by many Lala chiefs. In this case the two chiefs said that it was a duty of a slave to carry it. This particular bow-stand is of interest in that the several

<sup>6</sup> Audrey I. Richards, *Bow-stand or Trident*, MAN, 1935, 32.



FIGS. 1-4. 'BOW-STANDS' IN THE LIVINGSTONE MEMORIAL MUSEUM, NORTHERN RHODESIA; drawn by *Martin J. Morris*.

1. Found on a grave in Basoli country close to Lusaka.
2. Found on a grave in Bakaonde country, Kasempa District.
3. From Lala country; given by Chief Mulungwe to Mr. H. C. Brooks, District Commissioner, Mkushi.
4. Obtained from the headman of Naboa village in Lala area.

portions have been welded together. The Lala once were famous iron workers, but welding is an advanced stage in the art, and Mr. Brooks stated that he had never seen any other specimen of welding among tribes of Northern Rhodesia. It is interesting to note that a design based on the *Kapanda* forms a frequent motif in the wall drawings in the caves of the Mafulwe Hills in Lala country.

The remaining specimen in the Museum (fig. 4) was obtained from the head man of Naboa village also in Lala area. The comparative ease with

which these objects can be obtained among the Lala bears out their own statement that the objects belonged to the old days and are of no value or interest at all to-day. On the other hand, several specimens bought recently as wall decorations from Lala ironworkers have avowedly been made to order at 10/- each. However, there is no sort of sophisticated trade yet in the objects, and the new specimens are obviously new; and the old ones in the course of years have become rusted, battered and broken. Naboa, from whom the Museum specimen was purchased, had



another old one in his possession, but he retained that. Both of them were inherited from a dim past.

4. *The Bemba Bow-stands.*—As far as I know the Bemba are the only people in Northern Rhodesia who still retain the bow-stand not only as a symbol but also have it in continuous use and still preserve some of the ritual and tradition surrounding it.

Some years ago I published a small article describing what I had then heard of the Bemba bow-stands.<sup>7</sup> But there are more than the eight specimens then mentioned, in the possession of Bemba chiefs and councillors. Dr. Richards found fourteen.<sup>8</sup> But although many of them are open to view and handling by strangers there are others kept hidden in the relic huts. For instance, the Bakabilo (hereditary councillors and priests), who are responsible for looking after Paramount Chitimukulu's relics, will not state whether the chief has any nor how they are preserved, if he has any, nor what ritual is connected with them. When I asked whether Chitimukulu had any they replied that they were not allowed to tell me. Dr. Richards thinks that he has none.

In discussing the sacredness of the Bemba bow-stands Dr. Audrey Richards points out that this may be associated with the sacred hereditary bow.<sup>9</sup> Chitimukulu's bow is still ritually handled. The Bakabilo, who state that they have these stands, all treat them as sacred and preserve them in their *babanye* huts (relic huts). The only Bakabilo who, to my knowledge, have them are Chimba, Chikutwe, Chitikafula, Katenda and Mukosa. There may be others. Some of the smaller chiefs may also treat their bow-stands as sacred but most chiefs, for example Mwamba and Munkonge, do not. Dr. Richards gives me her opinion in a letter: "In general I should say that the bigger chiefs either had no bow-stands, or else did not treat them as so sacred, having other *babanye* of more importance, i.e., the *fiipuna* (stools). But with the Bakabilo and smaller chiefs this is not so." Mwamba's bow-stands (fig. 5) are treated as precious relics and carried with him to tree-cutting ceremonies, but they can be freely handled by Europeans and are not hidden as are those of the Bakabilo.

One new bow-stand has been made of recent

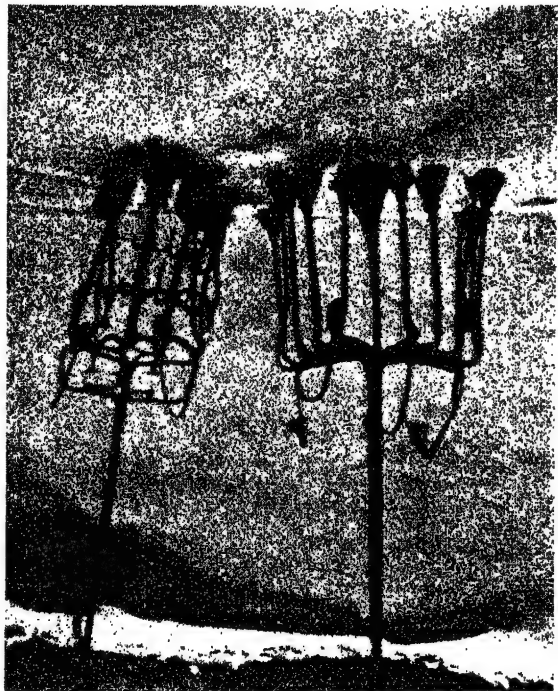


FIG. 5. 'BOW-STANDS' OF THE BEMBA CHIEF, MWAMBA.

years. The Mpepo Chieftainship in the Mpika district is a junior one, but in 1922 it was decided by the Bakabilo that Mpepo should have a bow-stand.

It was made by a neighbouring Bemba Chief Luchembe, who is an ironworker, and presented to Mpepo amid much rejoicing. Mpepo now carries it about with him on his journeys.

I will not repeat the information of Dr. Richards' article nor the few notes given in my own in *NADA*.<sup>10</sup> What follows was told to me by various Bakabilo, especially by Munuka, who is the most important keeper of the relics of the Chitimukulu.

The story of the origin of the Bemba bow-stands is that they were made by Mukulu, the Paramount chief of the Baluba, and the father of the first Mwata Yamvu who was his eldest son by a commoner. Kazembe was the second son, also by a commoner, but the first Chitimu-

<sup>10</sup> Dr. Richards in her article refers to the bow-stands as *nsakakabemba*. This she now informs me should be *nsankabemba*—a word used for the Paramount Chief's outfit of spear, etc., taken on journeys. It might thus include the bow-stand. The Rev. MacMinn traces the root idea to *sankabula*—'project,' 'points,' 'twigs,' 'branchlets,' etc.

<sup>7</sup> *The Bemba Tridents*, Nada, 1935.

<sup>8</sup> *Bow-stand or Trident*, MAN, 1935, 32.

<sup>9</sup> MAN, 1935, 32.





FIG. 6. RELICS IN THE POSSESSION OF THE LENJE CHIEF, CHITANDA, OF BROKEN HILL, INCLUDING A 'BOW-STAND': cf. FIG. 7.

kulu, who was the third son, was born from a woman of royal birth and therefore more important than the two elder brothers. The Bemba legend always has been that the *tupanda* were first given by Mukulu to his sons and then to other chiefs as a symbol of chieftainship. There Munuka's history stops.

But he went on to say that the Bakabilo would not object if, to-day, an ordinary man wished to carry one. An ordinary Mubemba, however, unlike some men of other tribes, never does possess one, and Kaluya, the head Mukabilo of Chief Nkula, was quite vicious in his assertion that a Mubemba who dared to possess one would not last very long. He said that this would apply even if the bow-stand was a new copy made by some foreign ironworker.

The Bakabilo suggested that the *tupanda* found in Nyasaland, as well as the specimens in possession of the Lala and Lenje had been stolen by war from the Bemba after they had reached their present position in Northern Rhodesia. The stories told in support of this suggestion are a matter of Bemba history, but that the bow-stands were wrested from the Bemba at the time they occur is, I imagine, pure conjecture on the part of the Bakabilo, although they are possible theories. The people now in possession of them have not yet recorded any supporting theory of how they obtained their *tupanda*, and the stories themselves are quoted merely to show that the Babemba had such contacts with people now possessing them.

At the time of the first Chikwanda, the most southerly of Bemba chiefs, the Wisa, Lala and

Lenje peoples to his south, paid tribute to him. One day a body of these tribute tribes plotted to kill Chikwanda and his people. The Lala and Wisa were the nearest tribes, but Lenje people were recruited to help. It was arranged that, as one man was dancing in front of the unsuspecting Chikwanda, he should stab the chief, then before his people could recover from the surprise, they should be massacred. The plot succeeded, and the Bakabilo suggested that after the massacre one or more of Chikwanda's bow-stands were taken. Such warlike contacts between the Bemba and surrounding tribes were frequent. The present Chitimukulu boasts that in his youth he raided as far south as Broken Hill, the home of

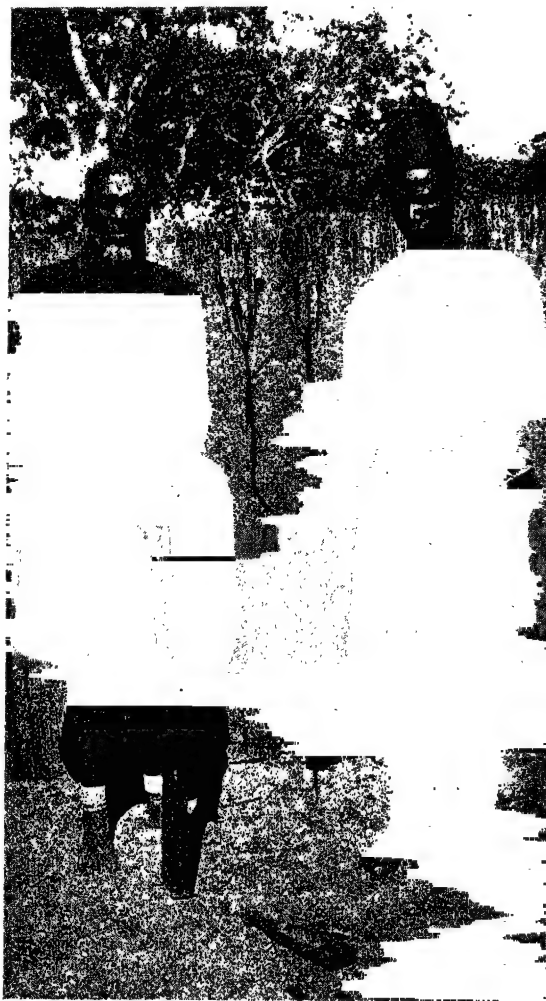


FIG. 7. 'BOW-STAND' AND OTHER RELICS IN POSSESSION OF THE LENJE CHIEF, CHITANDA: cf. FIG. 6.

the Lenje. The Bemba did not always win their skirmishes, and it is possible that a few of their chieftainly relics were taken or lost from time to time.

To the north of Bemba area many contacts were made with Angoni and other tribes to the east of the Luangwa Valley and in Nyasaland. During the period when the Chitimukulu was living at Manga, now part of Chief Makasa's area in Abercorn, Angoni raids were frequent, and Bemba chiefs, as well as commoners, were often captured. The late Chandamukulu, mother of Chitimukulu, was captured and taken back to Nyasaland. She was bought from the Ngoni by a Mufungwe chief, who lived in the hills between Karonga and Northern Rhodesia. By this native she had two children, the present Chief Mpepo and a female, Chilufya Mulenga, who lives just outside Kasama. When the Mufungwe learned of her importance he brought her back to Chief Nkula, of the Chinsali district, who rewarded him with ivory. So the Bakabilos' suggestion that the Nyasaland specimens were also captured has at least the support of opportunity.

5. *Modern Bow-stands.*—It is possible to-day in the Serenje district to buy copies of the old bow-stands for 10/- each. They were made to order by the Lala ironworkers.

A native Mwambe, of Kasama, who has lived in Tanganyika, says that just over the Northern Rhodesia border new bow-stands made in imitation of the old ones can occasionally be seen.

Also among the Mambwe, the tribe just north of the Babemba, in Northern Rhodesia, blacksmiths occasionally make new ones. Shikapeya, a Mambwe blacksmith of the Abercorn district, had a bow-stand that he melted down a few years ago and utilized the metal to make an axe.

His father had made the bow-stand, copying the one he had seen in the possession of the Bemba Chief Kela.

Further investigation would no doubt bring to light many other specimens.

6. *Conclusion.*—The main result of this somewhat disjointed inquiry is the realization that it is only among the Bemba of Northern Rhodesia tribes, that the bow-stand seems to retain some of its ancient value. This is not surprising, for not only are they the largest tribe in the territory, but they have retained much of their tribal solidarity and strong centralized chieftainship. Smaller, though allied tribes, have retained only a few indications of the former value of the bow-stand. But perhaps investigation among tribes nearer to the traditional Luba-Lunda home of the bow-stand, may add to our knowledge of the history and function of this instrument.

I have to acknowledge with thanks the helpful comments of Dr. Audrey Richards which are embodied in the article. Also I am indebted to Mr. Martin Morris of Livingstone for the drawings of the Museum Specimens and to Messrs. M. Barker and E. Munday for photographs. Some of my references are scanty, but unavoidable, since I have not the books with me.

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

**48** The Tribes of Travancore. *Summary of a communication by Mrs. Marguerite Milward, typical 6 February, 1940.*

In the Western Ghats which border Travancore, the highest mountain range south of the Himalayas, many rare aboriginal tribes are to be found. The lecturer made models on the spot in clay of the most typical of these, fifteen heads in all.

The Muthuvans, with handsome features and aquiline noses, are accomplished hill-folk. They make clearings or *kudys* and move about in circles, living on their own produce. Their women are never seen by any except near kindred. It required much hard work and persuasion to get a model. They wear charming knotted red saris and quantities of jewellery.

The Ooralies, much better off, live in well-built *kuttams*, near Periyar Lake. The women are very attractive, covered with rings, necklaces, and bangles; many have grecian bands in their hair.

Their unique marriage laws are on the principle of exchange. Like the Muthuvans, they are obliged to build huts in the trees as a refuge against elephants.

The Kanikhars, a sturdy little tribe, the women rarely over 4 feet 6 inches high, are only found on the desolate hills at the back of Trivandrum. They still make fire by friction and play music on a weird iron instrument which suits their songs.

The Kadars, on the Anamalais and Cochin Forest, show very distinct negroid characteristics, like many South Indian tribes. A fine example was found with real kinky nigger hair. They file their teeth in points at the age of fourteen in order to appear more beautiful.

The Malapantarams, by far the most primitive hunting tribe in Travancore, are rarely seen. The Palayans, Pulayas, and Mannans are of less interest and more mixed, as they are living nearer to civilization.

**Two Handicrafts of Portuguese Angola.** *Description of films shown by Miss A. Powell Cotton, 20 February.*

**49** *Bark-Cloth Making among the Gângela.* All the Gângela men make bark-cloth; some are, however, much more skilled than others. The best cloth is made from *Brachystegia* sp. The bark is cut from a standing tree, which will not die subsequently if rested some years. The outer bark is then stripped away, and the inner is left to soak in a pool overnight. Next morning, it is well beaten, then stretched, and pegged in the sun to dry. Finally the dry mud is beaten out, and the cloth is ready for use as blanket or apron.

*Pot Making in the Dombondola, Southern Angola.*—Among all the Ovambo peoples women make the pots. Our potter, Dombondola by marriage, learnt potting from her mother, who was herself an Ombalantu, a group of Ovambo living south of the Angola frontier. She was also a medicine-woman able to perform the necessary ritual each potting season, to open up the clay bed. Further rites are observed by all potters every time clay is fetched or pots made, so that neither the

pots crack nor the potter suffer blindness, ear-ache or other pains, through working the clay. Here yet another ritual protects her against harm from the spirit *Akwa Mungu*, possessed by all medicine women.

The pots are made in small underground caves, dug by the men, who may not enter them again, except when old and to kill snakes. Men will suffer sickness if they speak to women carrying clay. Only married women who have had children may learn the craft; an unmarried girl may help her mother, though she may not carry unbaked pots. The method of potting is as follows:—

*Large pots.* Concave pieces of clay are placed side by side to form the walls. A lump fills in the base.

*Medium size.* A solid lump of clay is hollowed out from the top.

*Small size.* A concave piece of clay forms the base; added lumps build up the walls.

All pots are thinned and smoothed, inside by gourd scrapers, and outside by a mussel-shell; they are polished with a stick. The pots are left to dry in the cave, until sufficient are ready for firing; when cool, they are varnished.

## REVIEWS.

### RELIGION AND FOLKLORE.

**50** *La Sorcellerie dans les Pays de Mission. Compte Rendu de la XIVe Semaine de Missiologie de Louvain, (1936). Bruxelles: L'Édition Universelle. Paris: De Brouwer, 1937. 468 pp. 65 francs.*

These Roman Catholic missionaries, assisted by Belgian Government officials and University professors, took 'Sorcery' for the subject of their annual meeting at Louvain in 1936. The secretary of the congress, Father Pierre Charles, in a preliminary and most able paper, sums up the aim of the congress as to consider magic only "en rapport avec la religion," but in fact the scope of most of the papers read is much wider, one or two being purely scientific and theoretical.

Father Pierre Charles defines sorcery as action (it cannot be passive, like the evil eye); as performed by a human agent, not a devil; as aiming at another's hurt—and here he clearly distinguishes between the sorcerer and the witch-doctor; as being carried out by some animal or tool uncontrollable by the normal native; and as outside religious practices, i.e., without social sanction.

Papers on magic in Madagascar, India, French Equatorial Africa and the Solomon Islands are contributed by various field-worker missionaries. Although they consist mostly of accounts of events and practices come across in the course of the missionary's own work, they include some theoretical speculation on the differences between black and white magic, between sorcerers and medicine-men. Father Keller, formerly of the Cameroons, sounds a counterblast to Lévy-Bruhl, declaring that that writer has worked for thirty years to shed light on dark places, but as a result of his labours the shadows have only grown darker and more mysterious. All these papers show a sound knowledge of human nature and a practical grasp of its tendencies all over the world which prevent any pseudo-scientific ramblings on pre-logical differences between black skins and white.

Not the least interesting paper is an account of the Leopard-men of the Congo by Professor Moeller of the

Antwerp Colonial Institute. He is strongly of opinion that these men have no central organization and are not politically involved; they are sporadic lawbreakers like U.S.A. gangsters. He also is of firm belief that to abolish or limit their initiation rites (*mambela*) would be a serious mistake; for he thinks that the slow evolution of civilization and order must come from within, and cannot be imposed from without by repressive measures. Neither he nor Father O'Reilly, in a graphic account of an aborted revolution in Buka, Solomon Islands, embark on a discussion of nationalism and political agitation; Father O'Reilly states objectively and with some humour the facts of how two natives caused the resurrection of a dead 'prophet' by ingenious trickery and nearly provoked a revolt against the Europeans.

Other papers are historical and describe sorcery in the Middle Ages and Renaissance; and, as Father Charles points out, when we consider some of the practices of European bishops in the 17th century we can hardly despise the native for incredulity or stupidity.

From the point of view of applied anthropology, there is interest in the discussion of a proposed revision of the Penal Code of the Congo, laid before the meeting by the Société d'Études Juridiques de Katanga.

A long bibliography of sorcery is also included.

A. B. V. DREW.

**51** *The Mandæans of Iraq and Iran.* By E. S. Drower. Oxford University Press, 1937. xxv+436 pp., 24 plates. 25s. net.

This book is an important contribution to cultural anthropology and to the comparative study of religions. It is the result of many years among these little-known people, so that the descriptions of Mandaean ritual are based on the observation and first-hand reports of an expert eye-witness.

Nor is the author qualified alone by personal experience; she has made herself thoroughly conversant with all the relevant literature.

The language of the Mandæans has long been of special interest as a still-living Oriental language which has preserved many survivals of earlier stages of growth and the characteristics of the older Oriental languages.

Similarly, the still-living culture of this small community contains valuable survivals of earlier stages in the development of the great system of religious ritual which once dominated the whole field of the ancient Near East. It is perhaps a natural tendency for those who are studying still-living behaviour patterns to depreciate the value of the study of ancient behaviour-patterns of the same type, on the ground that the latter cannot be observed in action. Mrs. Drower's book is specially significant as providing a link between modern and ancient religious behaviour-patterns, and as illustrating the fundamental principle of continuity in culture. In addition, the Mandæans offer a most interesting study in syncretism. Having their roots in the ancient soil of Mesopotamian religion, they have absorbed elements from Persian religion, from Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, as their myths and legends abundantly show.

The book falls into two parts. The first and most important deals with the Mandæan rituals for all the various occasions of their religious life. We have a full description of the marriage ritual, of baptism, of the consecration of the *manda*, or cult-hut, of the consecration of priests, and of those rituals which play so large a part in Mandæan religion, the various funerary rituals. Everything in this part of the book is derived from personal observation and first-hand information from officiants, and is fully illustrated by admirable photographs and plans. The second part of the book contains a selection of myths, legends, and folk tales, mainly taken down from the lips of Hirmiz bar Anhar, a silver-smith of priestly family. Some of these have already appeared in earlier collections.

It is a special merit of Mrs. Drower's book that a large number of the prayers and invocations have been transcribed *verbatim*, as they were heard by the author, and translated into English, giving a valuable corpus of liturgical material. One observes a certain amount of variation in the pronunciation of the same word: for example, the Mandæan word for 'life, the Aramaic *chayya*, is transcribed in a number of different ways; but no doubt the pronunciation varies according to locality.

One of the most interesting rituals is that of the consecration of the ritual hut and its sacred enclosure. Mrs. Drower has drawn attention to the remarkable parallels between the details of this ritual and those of the *kalu*-ritual for the dedication of restored temples and sacred buildings, as given in Thureau-Dangin's *Rituel accadiens*. Mrs. Drower rightly points out that the date of the tablets containing these rituals belongs to the Seleucid period; but it may be remarked that the rubrics show them to be copies of earlier tablets. We know from the correspondence of Asshurbanipal that this king was in the habit of collecting from all parts of his dominions tablets containing ancient rituals and having copies made of them for his library at Nineveh. Hence there can be no doubt that the rituals of the *kalu*-priests referred to go back to an early period in the history of Babylonian religion.

Another interesting parallel, which Mrs. Drower has pointed out, is that between the Mandæan underworld dragon 'Ur and the dragon-monster Tiamat of the Babylonian Creation Epic. Many other instances might be noted of traits in Mandæan myth and ritual which indicate clearly enough the survival of ancient Mesopotamian religious elements in modern Mandæan ritual.

Of equal interest and importance are the many parallels exhibited between Mandæan religious conceptions and those of the modern Parsis, both alike tracing their ancestry to early Persian religion.

Enough has been said to show the great importance of Mrs. Drower's book. It has been produced with the usual care and accuracy of the Oxford University Press.

S. H. HOOKE.

**Shamanism in Western North America.** By Willard Z. Park. Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. 1938. 166 pp. Price 2.25 dollars.

**52** In these days, when materialistic science and pure reason are being questioned on all sides, and primitive powers are once more rearing their heads, it behoves us all, if we are to keep our grip on reality, to inquire just what the nature of such primitive forces is, and how to get into direct touch with them. For this reason any new light on shamanism is of the utmost importance, since shamans are the psychologists of primitive peoples, and, as such, are more closely in touch with the impersonal forces that regulate men's lives, than are the representatives of more highly organized and stereotyped religions. It is thus a matter not merely of academic interest but one of real concern to find that the collective symbols and concepts used by the Paviotso shamans of California in their practice of curing disease are similar to those empirically found to be of essentially practical importance in the curing of neuroses, and even of much so-called organic disease among ourselves by the method of analytical psychology.

There is no space here to cite more than a few points of practical therapeutic importance revealed in this book. Shamanistic power is called *puhá*, corresponding to the *mana* of Melanesia and to the Christian 'grace.' This power comes through dreams, and by attentive obedience to what the dream says. Each shaman has moreover his own symbol or source of power, symbols well-known in Western dreams. Important among these are water-babies (there are also women in the lakes where the water-babies live) and serpents, also the spirit of the night. "There are two nights. The second one comes 'behind the night that everybody sees. This second night is under the darkness. It tells the shaman where the pain is, and what causes the sickness. . . . Only shamans can see this second night' (p. 17). The two nights might be described in psychological terms as the personal and impersonal (or collective) unconscious, and of the two, it is the latter that gives power.

A man or woman (though here usually a man) may become a shaman either involuntarily through the insistence of his or her own dreams, or he may seek power in caves. In this case he is subjected by the spirits to hair-raising tests, and if his courage fails him the power does not come. A man often fights against the responsibility of power, since, once he has accepted the 'call,' if he does not carry out the minutest details commanded in his dreams, he will fall sick. One of the numerous shamanic tenets bearing out the recent findings of therapeutic psychology is the statement (p. 38) that "illness . . . is commonly 'believed to result from . . . of parents,' expressing the now recognized fact that it is the fate of children to live out their parents' unconscious complexes. It is also in accordance with the dream-experiences of modern Europeans that (p. 53) the shaman during his cures always moves counter-clockwise round the fire, symbolizing the attempt to unwind a complex so as to . . . . A yet more practical parallel with modern analytical practice is the fact that "shamans are required by their powers to collect "a fee for treating patients," not, be it noted, for the

good of the patient, but because "the giving of free services would endanger the life of the shaman" (p. 48).

It is only fair to Professor Park (who, since writing this book, has accepted a professorship in the University of Oklahoma) to point out that the psychological parallels here drawn are not his. His standpoint, on the other hand, is purely cultural, based on three summers' work among the Paviois in the field. Compared with comparative study derived from the . . . of the Shamanistic Complex over the . . . western America. In this he discusses such matters as

the relative simplicity or complexity of the quest for power, the paraphernalia used, and the ritual performed during the séances. The method employed is of great value in that it combines the detailed study of shamanistic belief and practice in a limited area with a survey of the manifestations of the same phenomenon over a much wider field. This not only throws new light on the process of acculturation, but also provides a useful basis from which, by a process of elimination, the student may gain some insight into the more universal laws on which shamanism is based.

JOHN LAYARD.

## ASIA.

**Chinese Fairy Tales and Folk Tales.** *Collected and translated by Wolfram Eberhard.* London, 1937. xiv + 304 pp. Price 10s. 6d.

**53** This is a collection of 137 Chinese tales (nearly all published already in Chinese) classified by the author into two groups—fairy tales and, secondly, legends, myths, jokes and anecdotes. Mr. Eberhard proposes in his introduction to give something "that will differ from 'all other collections,'" in that these tales are Chinese, while all "former collections contained tales heard by 'Europeans in China and retold by them,'" so that the European's own thoughts and ideas fused with the story. The actual achievement of the book falls short of the translator's aim, and it is difficult to see the difference between this book and its predecessors. What justification is there for the author's using such titles as Cinderella (No. 2), or Nungguama (No. 3); or to translate the name of some Chinese musical instruments into "mandoline" (p. 262, etc.) and "guitar" (p. 60); or use the word "park" (p. 37)? Incidentally, if Mr. Eberhard had known anything about Chinese musical instruments, he would have realized that there is something wrong in No. 107 (pp. 262-263), when he says "he sang songs to 'a flute or a mandoline.'" To sing songs to a flute played by oneself is out of the question. The Chinese instrument nearest in shape and in the plucking mode of playing to an European mandoline can only be either a *P'i Pa* or a *Yueh Ch'in*, but nobody ever sings to these instruments.

Then as to the sources of these tales. In the *Introduction* we are given the impression that most of them were the results of an actual field-collection, but on scrutiny of the sources (pp. 299-304), we can see that only one tale (No. 112) was actually told to Mr. Eberhard in Peking, while all the rest have been previously published in books or periodicals. Eighty-three tales out of 137 were from the published material of one man, Mr. Lin Lan, and the "many" that "have never appeared" are found to be four in number, Nos. 31, 59, 86 (Mr. Ts'ao, even these might be also published) and 112 (by Mr. Eberhard in person). The names of the original publishers, the dates of the publications, etc., are not given by Mr. Eberhard. Further, does Mr. Eberhard know the Chinese language? Who were the translators or interpreters, and what were their qualifications? We are not even given to know how and from whom Mr. Eberhard got the only tale he really collected in person from Peking. For an European reader who does not know the Chinese language Mr. Eberhard has hardly

given keys to the sources through which the reader may check the authenticity, or the accuracy of the translation, of these tales.

This leads me to a consideration of the scientific value of this collection. Tales collected in isolation, out of their ritual or sociological contexts, cannot be of much, if of any, . . . To be used as scientific material in folk-lore and anthropology we must have not only the bare tales, but also the manner of their collection and their oral sources, the exact locality of the tales (even different villages sometimes have different tales), the occasions on which they are told, their popularity and, alongside, the sociological and economic background of the groups in which the tales are found.

Unfortunately Mr. Eberhard gives us nothing of this kind, though in the *Introduction* he seems not totally unaware of this principal factor in folk-tale collection, when he says, "The fairy tale lives, it lives on the tables 'of men, as they sit sipping their wine. It lives with 'children, as they play in the streets; and with women in 'the courtyards'" (p. xi).

If Mr. Eberhard had made some effort to understand the social milieu as well as the sociological implications of these tales he would not have made such essentially unscientific expressions as that in China "the fairy-tale-mind still exists" (p. xii, *Introduction*). I must confess that I cannot understand what is meant by the "fairy-tale-mind." Are we to classify the human mind into the myth-mind, the money-mind, and the horse-racing-mind?

The tales are translated in a free and easy style, and in the main afford easy reading. But the phonetic transcriptions appear to follow no one established system, and therefore the Chinese characters should have been given. And in many tales the translations of Chinese concepts into English have been very peculiar and careless. For instance, the Chinese concept 'Heavenly Ruler' (*T'ien Lao Yieh*) is translated as 'Pearly Emperor' (p. 205), 'Ruler of Heaven' (p. 213) and 'Heavenly Father' (p. 213). Now the first is a literal translation of the literary Chinese concept of the 'Heavenly Ruler,' and certainly does not convey the usual significance of this concept to either a Chinese or an European. The non-Christian part of the Chinese certainly never use the concept 'Heavenly Father' as Mr. Eberhard has translated it.

The printing of the book on the whole is good, and the cover, portraying two dragons over splashing waves, is attractive.

FRANCIS L. K. HSU.

## SOCIOLOGY.

**The Origin of the Inequality of the Social Classes.** By Gunnar Landtman. London: 1938. xv + 444 pp. Price 21s. net.

**54** Within the framework of the evolutionary method which it employs, this work embodies a detailed treatment of the problem of the inequality of individuals

and classes considered in terms of their hypothetical origins in human history.

The methodological limitations of this approach are apparent in Professor Landtman's book. The basic fallacy of the method lies in the unjustified transition from an observable, logical-geographical scheme to a



hypothetical chronological one. Typically, this means selecting from different contemporary communities a series of customs or social forms which might conceivably have followed one another within a single community or in human history as a whole, and assuming that this *was in fact* their sequence. To do this is to ignore numerous alternative possibilities, in particular that they might all have originated from a form which no longer exists anywhere; or that similar customs may have had different origins in different parts of the world—the possibility of convergence as opposed to parallelism or unilinear evolution.

It is essential to realize that no human community is any 'lower,' 'earlier,' or more 'ancient' than any other. All of them represent highly specialized human adaptations, the products of millennia of traditionalized cultural life during which there must have occurred complex changes which it is not possible to conceive, much less to delineate with any degree of precision. Moreover, no existing culture casts any light on the vast unknown gap which exists between the highest animal groupings and any human community known in the world to-day.

Consider for example, Landtman's statement: "The elders and those distinguished through personal superiority represent the first formation of a ruling power" (p. 22). Omitting its temporal implications this represents a perfectly true general statement concerning primitive cultures, largely because of the vagueness of the term 'personal superiority.' But the statement is couched in chronological terms. It invites us to consider these features of a 'ruling power' as representing the first emergence of this phenomenon at the beginning of . . . . And its detachment from any conditions which might have marked this stage is revealed by a comparison of any existing primitive community with primate groupings. In some of these, as Zuckerman has shown, relations between individuals are based on a system of physical dominance by an adult male. This might lead us to suppose that dominance by the physically strong, finding its nearest human parallel in the glorification of warriors, represented the earliest form of human society. But this would be totally unjustified. Respect or obedience paid to warriors is essentially a developed cultural tradition. It is based not on the mere fact of dominance but on the recognized place in an ordered community life, and . . . . system of social values—economic, . . . . and magico-religious. Here as . . . . primitive communities . . . . in any intelligible way to conditions . . . . marked the transition from primate groupings to human culture. In terms of observable evidence, this period must forever remain a blank page in human history. Speculations about it are not contributions to knowledge, but means of obscuring ignorance.

Wherever we attempt to substitute empirical observation for a *a priori* assumption, the evolutionary method breaks down. If we are completely in the dark concerning the conditions accompanying the first emergence of human culture, we are almost as ignorant of the social forms accompanying its earliest manifestations. We do not know whether the social life of the hunters and food-gatherers of Magdalenian times was marked by elaborate ceremonial and political organization such as that of the North-West Coast of America, or by the simple social structure of the Eskimo, or by the elaborate development of kinship found in Australia. And if this is true of a prehistoric culture about which we do at least know something from its imperishable artefacts, it is infinitely more significant as a critique

of attempts to reconstruct prehistoric psychological . . . . community . . . . now absolutely nothing.

The instances just cited show that even at a very primitive level of economic development, a large variety of social elaborations may or may not occur. Similarly it is possible to regard any primitive custom as an elaboration quite remote from the 'original state' rather than as a 'survival' of it.

Speaking of ancestor-worship, Landtman concludes that "the worship of deified men is, as a rule, confined to the kindred group, and in the first place to the 'separate families'" (p. 125; *italics ours*). Here again we have the naïve blending of observable fact with unjustified assumption. The first part of the statement embodies a useful general comment on the ethnography of ancestor-worship. The second suggests that this gives a clue to the origin of the practice, which by no means follows. If this sort of competitive guesswork could be of any scientific value, it would be quite as legitimate to assume that the first men to be 'deified' were outstanding personalities who had impressed the community as a whole with their power (*cf.* p. 126) and that the commonly existing forms of family worship represent imitations or elaborations of what was originally a community cult. Again, the author states that "whilst ancestor-worship originally tends to 'centralize the cult within families or kindred groups, no such tendency is manifested by worship of gods in nature'" (pp. 129-30). But, if Durkheim is right in regarding Australian totemism as the 'elementary' form of religious life, the earliest type of religion may have been a nature cult based upon a very definite . . . . of the community in terms of kinship or . . . . Such counter-speculations could be pursued *ad nauseum*, as they have been in the past. But they reveal nothing which is reliable and relevant, while they distract interest from really profitable lines of inquiry.

The subject-matter of this book is both scientifically and practically one of the most important fields in the study of social organization; it is concerned with basic human relations between groups and individuals; with the psychological and sociological factors determining leadership and precedence; and with the fundamental principles which serve to organize collective action and maintain corporate life. Material bearing on these topics is embodied in the ample documentation which makes the book very valuable as a work of reference. But it is unfortunate that more use has not been made of recent scientific monographs, as opposed to the earlier field records which give no more than a fragmentary or distorted account of cultural reality. Though these often constitute the only available material bearing on untouched primitive cultures, they must be supplemented by reference to more modern accounts and the theoretical advances which have made them possible. It seems incredible to-day that anyone should write a chapter on religion and magic (Chapter VIII) without a single reference to the field material and theoretical observations of workers who have applied the functional method to the study of magico-religious institutions in primitive society.

There is a significant reason why reconstructive studies should minimize the importance of such contributions. The stress which they lay upon comprehensive empirical observation, upon the cultural context without which primitive customs are meaningless, and upon the dynamic character of cultural processes is inconsistent with an approach which necessarily denies or ignores the importance of these principles. The more we learn

about the complex reality of primitive customs, beliefs and institutions the more futile does the attempt to trace their evolutionary origins appear. And ethnographic records which demonstrate this are

naturally incompatible with a method of approach which to-day represents a concluded chapter in the history of anthropological theory.

RALPH PIDDINGTON.

#### AMERICA.

**An Historical and Ethnological Survey of the Cuna Indians.** By Erland Nordenskiöld. Edited by Henry Wassen. Göteborg Museum, Comparative Ethnographical Studies No. 10. Göteborg, Sweden, 1938. Price £2.

The late Baron Nordenskiöld collected a very large amount of ethnographical material on the Cuna, with the co-operation of the educated Cuna Indian, Ruben Pérez, but unfortunately he died without having put it into form for publication. Dr. Wassen has now edited Nordenskiöld's material, and the result is a notable contribution to knowledge.

There is a short section on geography and history and a valuable account of the offices of chief and of medicine-man. The chiefs have no definite power to enforce their authority, but have much influence and get no pay, so it is not surprising that they are unwilling to be appointed. All this has many parallels among other American Indians. A very large number of Cuna texts is given with translations. These texts are mostly written down in the Roman alphabet from dictation but there are also some facsimile plates of picture-writing with translations. This is a valuable addition to Nordenskiöld's previous work on the script. There is much information on Cuna mythology and magic. An amusing combination of old and new is the practice of drinking water in which gramophone needles, whistles, and gold and silver bells have been placed, in order to get a beautiful singing voice. On the same principle a parrot is roasted and eaten in order to learn languages. There seems to be a strong taboo on names, seeing that the real name of Ruben Pérez is not known to the author, and Pérez said he had forgotten the names of his own father and mother, though he gave those of remoter ancestors in the male line as far as the fifth generation from himself.

By far the least satisfactory part of the book is that dealing with social organization. No information of any value is given as to kinship or as to marriage restrictions. Marriage is strongly matrilineal and there is a large-family in which all the work is done by husbands of the women. The members of this group are said to be all related on the mother's side, and the head of it, the *saka*, is sometimes a maternal uncle of the women. So far it is easy to follow, but the genealogical diagrams purporting to explain the system show that a *saka* may be succeeded by his son, which is inconsistent with the uterine descent of the group, so it is impossible to understand how the system works.

The Cuna were among the first Indians to have contact with Europeans, and strangely enough have been remarkably successful in maintaining their independence, though, no doubt, the deadly climate has helped them. They must be a people of remarkable intelligence and strength of character to show such a vigorous national spirit and determination to preserve their culture and

traditions as they do. Their rigid insistence on racial purity has probably been a factor in preventing disintegration. The only admixture they seem to have received is a possible small amount of French Huguenot blood, always a valuable strain in any population.

There is an interesting section on the albinos for which the Cuna are noted.

The book is well printed and illustrated and the English of the translation is good, if slightly American.

RICHARD C. E. LONG.

**Excavations at San José, British Honduras.** By J. Eric Thompson (Carnegie Institution of Washington. Washington D.C. 1939).

Mr. Thompson gives a valuable study of a minor Maya site in a peripheral region of the Old Empire. No inscriptions were forthcoming, as the only stela at the site has no glyphs whatever, and the small portion now remaining of a glyph-band, in stucco on an altar, cannot be read, but, as the author says, it is well to investigate such sites as well as the more spectacular ones. A full description is given of the buildings, the burials, and the various objects found. The usual Maya practice of altering and adding to buildings was much in evidence. The greater part of the book is, however, concerned with pottery, and the treatment of the ceramics makes it an outstanding contribution on what is now one of the most important problems of Maya research. The author gives a very full account of the various types and their stratification and the sherd groups. In addition there is an appendix by Miss Anna O. Shepard who has investigated the sherds microscopically to determine the various kinds of temper and other technological matters. In a summary Mr. Thompson deals with the conclusions to be drawn from the San José ceramics and their bearing on Maya chronology in general. It seems that although this was a somewhat provincial site it had a long history and that, at all events in its later period, it had widely extended trading relations, as the analysis of the temper of the pottery clearly shows.

It is evident from this as well as other recent work on Maya ceramics that the problem is an extremely complex one owing to the different lines of development of pottery at various sites. San José gives rise to several problems of its own, notably the evidence for a shorter time allowance for the first four Holmul periods. Thompson gives a tentative chronological chart based on the evidence to date, but wisely does not claim finality for it. His views on outside influence on the Peten pottery are particularly valuable and suggestive.

This book is a further step on the road to the solution of the correlation problem and to laying the perturbed spirit of the Maya calendar, as Goodman said in another connexion. The book is well illustrated and indexed.

RICHARD C. E. LONG.

#### CORRESPONDENCE.

##### Nationalism.

**57** SIR,—While responsible statesmen throughout the world were still working to avert war, an article by Sir Arthur Keith on "The Nature of "Nationalism" appeared in the *Sunday Times*, 27

August, 1939. As a contribution to contemporary issues it called forth a correspondence in which some of its implications were adequately discussed. Others which involve wider issues for the anthropologist call for further comment.



In criticizing the internationalism of Mr. H. G. Wells, Sir Arthur Keith refers to the ubiquity of an entity called "the tribal spirit" among primitive peoples, and argues that "what they call 'tribal' we name 'national'." He also asserts that "our tribal qualities are deeply rooted in human nature."

So far as it is possible to judge, Sir Arthur Keith regards the tribal spirit as a characteristic of all situations in which human beings subordinate themselves to social discipline. Apparently it is equally characteristic of a totemic ceremony, a head-hunting raid, a collective economic enterprise or a European war. From the standpoint of modern anthropology, the most questionable feature of Sir Arthur Keith's article is the justification for assigning a singular agency for such diverse cultural phenomena.

Though all cultures are founded upon a universal equipment of human needs and potentialities, it is dangerous to confuse the latter with their manifestation in specific cultural forms, particularly those of our own society. If we approach the problem of human nature in its relation to social institutions, the 'tribal spirit' can only be understood in terms of its concrete manifestations. Thus tribalism can only be defined as what tribes do.

This may (or may not) include head-hunting, cannibalism, and other forms of violence against alien communities. Where violence occurs it may be founded on a variety of motives and social interests. It may be produced, as among the Australians, by quarrels over women, by personal feuds, or by superstitious beliefs. It may be determined by economic motives: the desire to acquire slaves, territory, cattle or other booty. It may also result from a variety of complex drives, which produce effects spiritually and materially inimical to the interests of the community. The social, geographical, and material context of modern warfare is a different category. It cannot be compared with primitive hostilities founded either upon specific superstitious beliefs, upon personal antagonisms, or upon the rational anticipation of material gain.

Far from being a universal feature of human nature or even of a specified cultural 'level,' militant tribalism is merely one of many ways of dealing with specific cultural problems. Polynesia offers some interesting contrasts in this respect. Apart from unimportant family quarrels, the natives of Manihiki and Rakahanga never fought. Those of Mangaia were constantly at war. Both communities had the same type of geographical and cultural environment. The former had devised a rational employment of natural resources and a social mechanism (the *tuha whenua* or land-distributor) to minimize the most potent cause of friction. The latter had not. In Tikopia the customs of birth-control and infanticide regulated the relationship between population and resources, while a close system of co-operation and interdependence prevented regular conflict. Such comparisons show that the cultural problems which are manifested as the 'tribal spirit' may be solved by other means.

In the various forms of tribalism, we can discern two major trends. One is the rational solution of material and social problems by technical skill and social ingenuity. The Eskimo, though lacking militancy, have nevertheless devised an ingenious material and social adjustment to their environment. Given their geographical and cultural limitations, their achievement is one which we may well envy. The other trend is embodied in various forms of violence against alien groups. Cattle-raiding in East Africa, head-hunting in New Guinea, and fights for land in Polynesia are examples, and might be defended with equal justification

by the line of argument which Sir Arthur Keith follows.

Actually, however, we approach backward communities more rationally than our own. We do not become lyrical about slave-raiding in Africa, about traditional feuds in Tongareva, or about the refined forms of torture which the Marquesans devised for their prisoners of war. We do not invoke any mystical entity such as the tribal spirit to justify such customs, or regard them as sacrosanct spiritual heirlooms of an anthropoid ancestry. We usually look upon them as a futile waste of life and something intolerable to a civilized community.

In comparative studies we see variations in the exercise of authority and the control of lawlessness. Sometimes the clan is a compact unit, within which there is respect for individual rights while unrestricted conflict exists between different clans. The tribe, the nation, and again the empire, are wider groups for the more effective exercise of authority, and the direction of human effort towards the common good. In colonial administration we attempt to eliminate conflict between clans and tribes, and to weld them into a wider community founded upon peaceful co-operation. However much we may admire the courage of the Masai or the Maori, we see their militancy as a menace to the welfare of the community as a whole. We feel the need to eradicate both the impulses which lead to it and the institutions in which it is manifested.

Are we not entitled to look upon the civilized world from the same point of view? The manner of human life has changed and is changing by the increase of technical skill, planned organization, and ever-widening loyalties. The social sciences, extending personal contacts and economic relations over the whole world, and the incredible dangers to civilization of conflicting nations and social systems, have made nationalism an anachronism.

New problems have arisen and new solutions must be found. Anthropology can contribute to this by an analysis of the causes which produce militant tribalism: the clumsy use and distribution of land and raw materials, short-sighted and selfish competitiveness, the maintenance of archaic institutions by elders who cling sentimentally to tradition, the compulsive verbal magic of tribal slogans and quasi-religious mania, and lack of social planning to create institutions for the prevention of conflict. For an excellent preliminary statement, see Gorer, *Himalayan Village*, Ch. XVII.

Though militant tribalism is not 'rooted in human nature,' it can arise and can frustrate the peaceful aims of ordered social life. So also do greed, lust, jealousy, and vindictiveness. Societies limit the destructive effects of these anti-social tendencies by a variety of controlling mechanisms, and it will be essential to clothe the impulse towards international order in concrete institutions, such as a federal government for Europe, and ultimately, if need be, for the whole world.

This may not be done at once. Just as the administrator, in dealing with head-hunting, sorcery, and the like, is obstructed by native preconceptions, the rational approach to the problems of civilized man is beset by traditional obsessions which prevent progress. Possibly within the next few years, or months, civilization may be completely destroyed and may require painful rebuilding, before it takes the next step from clanship and tribalism through imperialism to internationalism. Possibly militant tribalism may persist, and young men may continue to be slaughtered for mistakes made before they were born. But however gloomy the prospects, defeatism is not inescapable. Granted clear thinking and resolute determination, what has been done more

or less fortuitously by primitive hunters and food-gatherers may be achieved consciously and constructively by civilized man. RALPH PIDDINGTON, *Marischal College, University of Aberdeen.*

### Nomenclature of Blood Groups.

**58** SIR,—As the British member of the Health Committee of the League of Nations, I have been asked to draw your attention to the following resolution passed at the meeting of this Committee on 20-25 November, 1939:—

"The Health Committee believes it to be its duty once more to draw the attention of all concerned to the recommendation adopted by the Permanent Commission on Biological Standardization in 1928 concerning the nomenclature to be adopted in the designation of blood groups. It is of opinion that, especially in present circumstances, the use of a uniform nomenclature will obviate mistakes which might entail serious consequences."

In 1928 the Permanent Commission on Biological Standardization reported that: "The Commission learns with satisfaction that, on the initiative of the Health Organization of the League of Nations, the nomenclature proposed by von Dungern and Hirschfeld for the blood groups has been generally accepted, and recommends that this nomenclature shall be adopted for international use, as follows:—

"O A B AB."

"To facilitate the change from the nomenclature hitherto employed, the following is suggested:—

"Jansky O(I) A(II) B(III) AB(IV)

"Moss O(IV) A(II) B(III) AB(I).

"The Commission recommends the adoption of the following method of designating test-sera:—

"Test-serum A (anti-B),

"Test-serum B (anti-A).

"Test-serum A (anti-B) should be placed in containers of white glass, test-serum B (anti-A) in containers of brown glass."

"The Commission having learned that in certain countries this nomenclature was not yet in current use, emphasized the importance of achieving uniformity in the matter. The Commission believes that this object might be attained:—

"(a) if each Institute which supplies standard sera used solely this nomenclature;

"(b) if the editors of scientific journals (medical, legal, etc.) insisted upon the exclusive use of this nomenclature in all the works they may be called upon to publish. It is particularly desirable that all the more important scientific journals should also conform to this rule."

The attention of the Health Committee had been drawn to the question by the Danish member, who stated that authoritative British medical journals had recently published articles in which the old nomenclature had been used.

NEVILLE M. GOODMAN, M.D.  
*Ministry of Health, S.W.1.*

**Snake-Vessels of the Gold Coast.** (*Cf. MAN, 1939, 186: for illustrations see p. 64 hereafter.*)

**59** SIR,—As a 'Link between India and Crete' (*MAN, Dec. 1939*) Mr. Aravamuthan refers to pottery vessels with numerous spouts, some with 'snakes moulded in relief as if ascending the sides,' and gives some illustrations of vessels of this type (*MAN, 1939, 186*).

I wish to draw attention to similar vessels still in use amongst the Ewe people in Dahomey and parts of Togoland, and have made a drawing of an earthenware

pot, now in the Museum of Achimota College, Gold Coast.

The pot itself, reddishware with occasional white slip, is surrounded at the base of its neck by the rainbow snake *Anyi-ewo* or, rather, *Aydokodo*, the name of the rainbow at Whydah, Dahomey, where the serpent cult originated. The rainbow snake is said to appear only when it is thirsty and needs water. Its tail resting on the ground, it raises its head up to the sky, looking for *Mawu*, the keeper of rain. While drinking great quantities of water, it spills some, which falls down to the earth as rain.

The names of the four other snakes ascending the sides are *Danh-gbi*, the great life-giving snake worshipped at Whydah; (*F*)*Li*, the great protecting fetish of the ancient town of Whydah; *Liuvu*, connected with *Wu*, the god of the Sea, and one of the principal gods worshipped at Whydah; and *Fa*, who was called by the original owner of the pot the messenger of the gods. He said, however, that this messenger can be called by other names: this is a point which is obscure. The name of the snake on the lid is *Danh-gbi* again, the great snake around which the whole serpent cult is centred.

The three chameleons are called *Lisa* in this case as they are the representatives of *Lisa*, the sun. Further depicted on the pot is a tortoise called *Ekle* and a frog with the sacred name *So-evi*; *So* is short for *Khebiosso*, the god of lightning and thunder, and *So-fa*, his double axe. There is also a snail shell called *Abobo* which together with the six spouts is used as a watering place for live snakes.

As for the question whether this vessel may have been used for 'praying for rain,' or 'the bringing down of rain,' the few people I was able to consult about this pot (none, unfortunately, people from Whydah) denied that there was any such connexion. But it may have been different in ancient times; at least the behaviour of the snakes represented is suspicious, as they all do exactly like the rainbow snake, resting their tails on the ground and raising their heads to *Mawu*, the keeper of rain. The snail also is considered an animal associated with rain and so is the frog, here connected with the god of lightning and thunder, whose double axe causes the thunderstorm, usually accompanied by torrents of rain. As for the chameleons, which are called *Lisa* to *Mawu*, I suggest that in this case the life-giving power of the sun, rain often enough means life in Africa.

On the lid are centred all the powers which are able to prevent the rain from becoming a flood and being dangerous to human beings and crops. *Danh-gbi*, the life-giving snake and benefactor of mankind which, ascending the sides was looking up to *Mawu* for rain, is depicted on the lid looking up to *Lisa*, the sun. For the tortoise on the lid, I was not able to get much information, but looking up A. B. Ellis' book, 'The Ewe speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast,' I found the tortoise referred to as causing fire: 'The fire of the Tortoise that burns the root of trees and kills them.' There exists also a legend that the tortoise brought the fire to the Ewe country and many folk tales in which the tortoise is connected with fire.

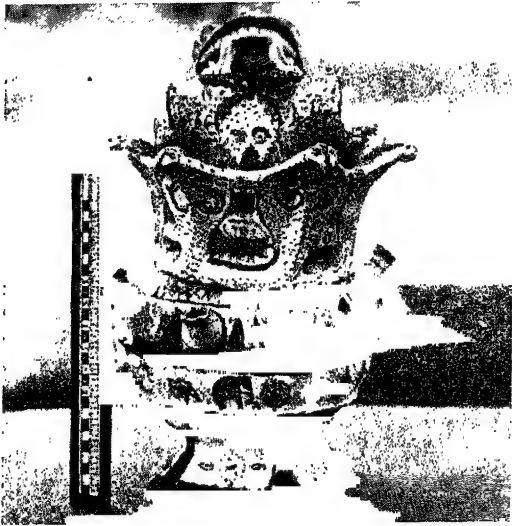
Serpent-worshipping priests and medicine-men keep such a pot in their compound and surround it with a small house made of swish, leaving many openings so that the sacred snakes may come in and rest and drink from the water placed in the pot.

A man who by accident has killed a snake or harmed one goes to a medicine-man for purification. The pot is then taken out and a herb added to the water from which the snakes have drunk. He dips his fingers into the water and rubs some of it on his body.

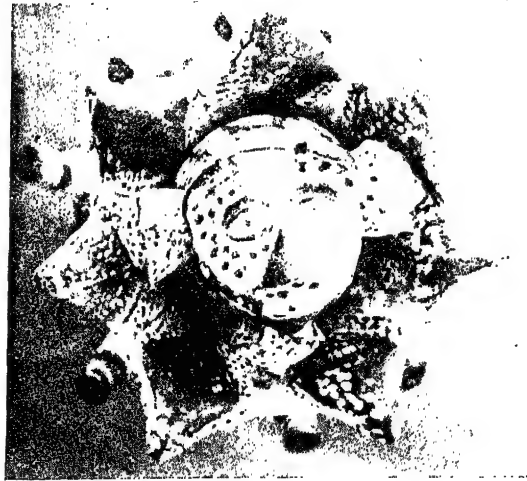
*Achimota, Gold Coast.* EVA L. R. MEYEROWITZ.



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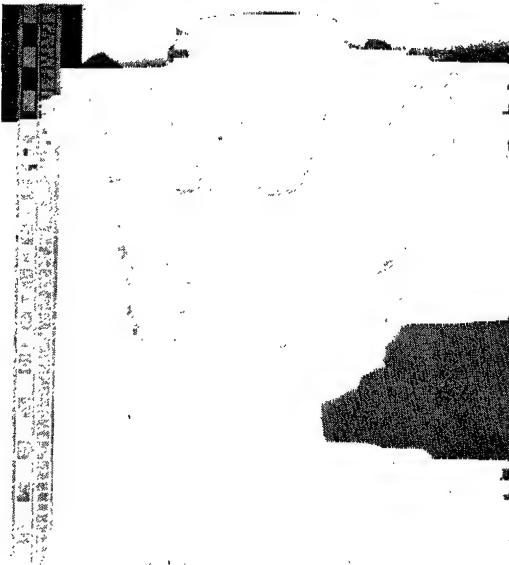
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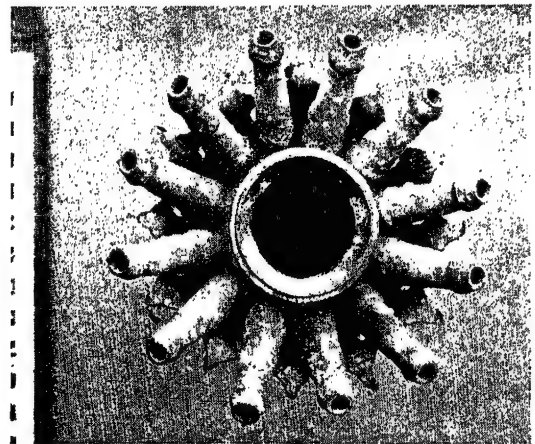
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PŪNĀVA VESSELS OF CLAY FROM  
CEYLON

# MAN

## A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE  
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

XL, 60-82

APRIL, 1940

### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

With Plate D.

**PŪNĀVA CLAY VESSELS WITH SYMBOLIC SNAKES USED IN THE CULT OF PATTINA IN CEYLON.** By N. D. Wijesekera, M.A., Assistant in Ethnology, Colombo Museum. Cf. MAN, 1939, 186; 1940, 22, 59.

**60** The article by J. G. Aravamuthan, *A Link between India and Crete* (MAN, 1939, 186) has prompted this note on a similar pottery vessel used in the ceremony called *Devol-maḍu-neḷima*, a cult connected with the goddess Pattini in Ceylon. Having read Mr. K. N. Dikshit's note on pottery vessels published in the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* for 1936 I have, some time ago, invited the writer's attention to similar vessels used in Ceylon.

The *Pūnāva* is made of clay, modelled into the shape of a common water pot, but not fired in an oven. Its details and size are not laid down in any text, nor fixed even traditionally. Certain elements form essential factors in its manufacture. These are the cobra-hood, projecting spouts, and faces of the leopard. The most elaborate vessels are built up in tiers containing 24 snake-hoods, 12 spouts and three faces of the leopard surmounted by a fourth. Sometimes the vessel is mounted on a bull.

The particular vessel I am describing has four legs at the base, 12 spouts around the body. It is not possible to say whether the spouts have any phallic significance. Around the neck of the pot are 7 hoods of cobras with S-marks. The mouth of the vessel is quite ordinary. The detachable lid has 3 faces of leopard-cubs, on three sides only. The whole lid is surmounted by the face of a leopard. Plate D, figs. 1-2, illustrate other details; and other *Pūnāva* vessels are shown in figs. 3-6.

During the performance of the ceremony special honour is paid to the *Pūnāva*, and in its presence blessings are asked by the officiating person who is called *Pattini* or *Kapurāla*. At the completion of the ceremony the vessel is taken on the back of a bull to a stream near by. Taking the vessel with him, the *Pattini* dives in the stream, breaks it under water, and comes out empty-handed.

*Pattini* is a protective female deity who holds an equal (if not a higher) rank among the other three beneficent gods, Kataragama, Vishnu, and Saman. It is of interest to note that her power is invoked during epidemics like chicken-pox and measles.

The popular belief is that she was born of a mango. Because of her miraculous conception her ornaments (bangles, necklaces, armlets, and anklets) are held in great reverence. According to one version her birth-story is as follows:—

One day the gardener of the Pāṇḍyan king reported that he had seen a mango of unusual size. All efforts to pluck it were of no avail. On the seventh day Sakra, the lord of gods, appeared in the guise of an old man. He shot the mango with an arrow, but it remained suspended in mid-air. When the king looked up to see the mango, sap fell on his third eye and blinded it. Realizing the ominous nature of the incident he placed the mango in a clay vessel in a boat. The boat drifted down the river Kāvēri (Cauvery in South India) and came to the city of Kannūram (Kānchipuram) where princess Mānāyuru happened to see it. She took the fruit as it was, and left it to ripen. On the

seventh day Sakra returned to ask for the mango. On looking into the vessel the princess beheld a beautiful baby girl in it. When this little princess came of age, Pālānga, a prince of Pallēla, married her.

The Sinhalese tradition is that King Gajabāhu brought the ornaments of Pattini from India and introduced the cult in about the third century A.D. Ever since that day the belief in Pattini has continued to console millions of Sinhalese.

**COWRIE AND BAUBO IN EARLY JAPAN.** *By Dr. Kurt Singer, Sendai, Japan. Illustrated.*

**61** Since the last stages of the Palæolithic Age, the cowrie-shell appears as burial gift in places far from the seas in which it lived. Many peoples of Europe, Africa, America, Asia and the Pacific have used it, or use it even now, in funeral, marriage, or circumcision rites, as hunting and fishing amulet, as sacrificial gift to rivers, springs, or trees; as a mere ornament, or as money. As other shells seem to have æsthetic or technical advantages over the not too graceful *Cyprea moneta*, the manifold uses of this shell suggest a belief in magical properties peculiar to it; and a clue to these appears to be furnished by the observations made two hundred years ago by Adamson in his *Histoire Naturelle du Sénégal* where he explained the Latin name of the cowrie *Concha venerea* or *Porcellanea*, by its similarity with the pudenda muliebra. It was, however, the late Sir Grafton Elliot Smith who gave us the first theory of the magical uses of the cowrie as a 'life-giver,' an image of 'the one entrance into life,' closely associated with parturition and other fecundity cults, and therefore akin in meaning and function to those conventionalized neolithic figurines, perhaps originating in Syria, which are generally believed to have been connected with Astarte or other forms of the Magna Mater. Reviewing ethnological evidence, J. Gunnar Andersson (*Children of the Yellow Earth*, 1934, pp. 294-312) has given adherence to Elliot Smith's idea, 'at any rate as a working hypothesis'; as no other point of departure makes it possible to range under a single point of view all the varying uses of the cowrie.

Yet one seeming difficulty remains. The neolithic figurines of the Astarte type show in no case any recollection of the cowrie-talisman; they do not even stress the form and size of the pudenda, with the exception of some female figurines from Thrace, reproduced in Hoernes, *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa*, p. 319, figs. 1-4, while over-accentuating, like the palæolithic figures, the secondary sex-

characters. The only specimen of an amulet assimilating the form of a woman to that of the cowrie-vulva is a Nubian figurine, cited by Elliot Smith (*Human History*, fig. 13), and even this conveys the supposed original meaning only in a cryptic manner: neck, arms, thorax, and lower legs being carved on a smaller scale and more conventionally than the body between waist and knees; the pudenda are not visible or even indicated, but the formal arrangement of the thighs will evoke the image of the lower side of a cowrie shell to anybody acquainted with the shell-symbol. On the other hand, the only figurines of the Eastern Mediterranean which show the female parts deliberately are representations of 'Baubo,' the Orphic counterpart of the Eleusinian 'Iambe,' and these do not recall the form of a cowrie, but of a frog, the sacred animal of the Egyptian goddess Heke-t. The sacramental act of exposing the female parts is reported to have formed part of the ritual of Bubastis in Egypt. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf was convinced that also in the Eleusinian mysteries, 'something unmistakable' was shown, first as a plain image, later replaced by a shell. As the pig was a sacrificial gift to Demeter, and as *choiros* is used equivocally for a young pig and the pudenda, it may be worth mentioning that some writers derive cowrie from *choiros*, pronounced *koiros*, as *porcellanea* from *porcus*.

The Western evidence thus being suggestive but not conclusive, a neolithic (*Jōmon*) figurine from North-eastern Japan, now in the Archæological Collection of the Technological Department of Tokio Imperial University and reproduced in fig. 1 with the kind permission of Professor H. Matsumoto, may deserve the attention of western anthropologists. The similarities of the *Jōmon* and the Danubian neolithic cultures have been stressed by a distinguished Japanese anthropologist, Dr. Ryūzō Torii (*Ancient Japan in the Light of Anthropology*, 1935, p. 8); in both appear female clay figures, coil and spiral ornaments, and pottery painted with vermillion. The figurine



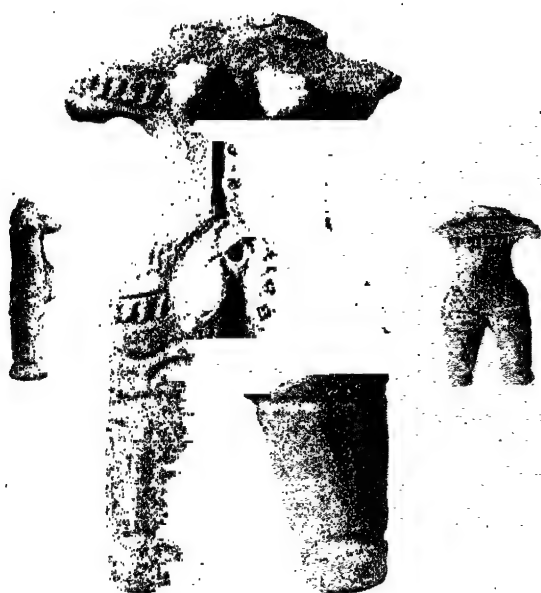


FIG. 1. NEOLITHIC JŌMON FIGURE WEARING A COWRIE-SHELL: TOKIO.

*Profile on left; back view on right.*

reproduced here, however, is unique in that it shows not only the usual strongly accentuated breasts, but also what appears at first sight as a kind of vulva of monstrous dimensions, but what most probably is nothing but a giant image of the cowrie shell, hanging from a cord which is attached to a neck-band, and probably held *in situ* by a waistband. One could scarcely expect to find a closer association of a female idol with the image of the cowrie signifying the pudenda muliebra, as postulated by Elliot Smith. Is this a Far-Eastern variant of a well-known western theme, or a survival of forms that have preceded the 'Syrian' figurines?

The emergence of such a cowrie Magna-Mater idol in Japan will surprise no one familiar with the 'retentive power' of this nation which deems nothing more important than offspring, and availed herself until yesterday of innumerable *phallos* and *kteis* symbols in order to promote fecundity, or fertility, or, perhaps more often, to avert the action of evil spirits. Japanese women in travail hold (or used to hold) in their hands a cowrie shell, called *koyasuigai*, 'easy birth shell'. In some provinces the female parts are called in popular parlance *kai*, 'shell.' According to Engelbrecht Kaempfer, the Japanese

formerly made their white cheek-varnish from cowrie shells. If certain pearls were enclosed in a box together with such powder, they were supposed to multiply. A phallic deity, *Saruta-hiko*, is 'drowned in the brine of the sea' by a shell-fish (*Kojiki*, Sect. XXXVI); another shell-fish (the modern *akagia*) plays an important part at his birth (*Izumo Fudoki*), and the same shell-fish cooperates with a third (the modern *hamaguri*) to restore at the command of the female 'producing goddess,' *Kami-musubi no Mikoto*, the life of the Great God of Izumo, *Ō-kuni-nushi no Mikoto* (*Kojiki*, Sect. XXII), by triturating and scorching her own shell, while her companion carried water and smeared him with the mixture of shell-powder and water 'as with mother's milk.' These traditions, though not speaking of *Cyprea moneta*, but of *Arca inflata* and *Cytherea Meretrix*, leave no doubt that, according to an ancient Japanese belief, painting one's body with a smear of powdered shell procures rebirth. In triturating the shell, it is true, the form which designates it as magical equivalent of the female parts, is destroyed, but the milky aspect of the suspended powder creates a new and not less important association with maternal powers and substances. I venture to think that the customs of Japanese women to paint with such varnish the back of their necks, and of Japanese boys who, when participating in the annual festivals of their *uji-kami* apply it to their foreheads and noses, were originally based on such magical conceptions, in order to ward off evil influences, and to confer life and force by administering a simulacrum of mother's milk produced from a simulacrum of the womb.

The two other shells, *Hamaguri* and *Akagai*, which figure in the myth of *Ō-kuni-nishi's* rebirth, are bivalves which frequently occur in Japan and the form of which may easily be interpreted in the same way as the much rarer cowrie. According to Kämpfer (*The History of Japan*, I, Glasgow (Reprint), 1906, p. 250); fig. 68 *Hamaguri*, fig. 69 *Akagai*, fig. 70 *Takaragai*, ('Treasure-shell' or cowrie) the best cowrie used in Japan came from the Riu Kiu Islands, the home of strongly female cults. In contrast to China, the cowrie, although very highly valued, appears to have never been used in Japan as money proper.

Does the *Jōmon* figurine of the Tokio University Collection represent a deity, or a priestess in

ritual attire? Professor Kōchi Doi of the Tōhoku Imperial University, Sendai, has drawn my attention to the fact that the way in which the cowrie-symbol is attached to the abdomen by means of a waistband, recalls Greek paintings showing dancing Satyrs or Sileni, or actors impersonating them, with loin-cloths bearing a mock erect phallos (compare A. B. Cook, *Zeus* I, pl. xxxvii f.) If we are entitled to connect the *Jōmon* figurine with a deity of the Japanese Pantheon, this can be no other than Ama-no-Uzume-no-Mikoto, the female counterpart and companion of the phallic Saruta-Hiko, the 'Dreadful Woman of Heaven,' whose orgiastic dance, with breasts bared and gown pulled down *usque ad partes privatas* (Chamberlain) evoked the laughter of the gods and so contributed in a decisive manner to draw the Sun goddess from the cave in which she had shut herself. It is probable that the Cave myth in its present form embodies relics of former rituals of birth or rebirth, and that the dance of Ama-no-Uzume had its origin in parturition rites destined to drive away malign spirits endangering the life of mother and child, by exposure of the most potent bearers of vitality as in Ainu mythology, the goddess of fertility defeats the demon of dearth by baring her breasts. Ama-no-Uzume thus resembles the Orphic Baubo, often identified with Hekate in fact, but only (as Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, s.v., would suggest), because of the pun, Hekate—Heke-t?; and it is perhaps worth while observing that Ama-no-Uzume, a goddess without parents and relatives in Japanese mythology, shares an unusual number of characteristics with the Thracian and Karian brotherless goddess, dreaded by all gods, connected with cross-ways, ruling over animals of the wild, and celebrated with orgiastic rites and uncouth symbols.

During my travels in Japan I happened to see two masks recalling the traditions about Baubo-Iambe and Demeter in a still more weird way. These formed the central part of the autumn procession at the festival of the Gongoro Jinja in Kamakura, a small shrine dedicated to a valiant warrior of the eleventh century A.D., liegeman of an ancestor of the great Yoritomo. There is nothing, however, in this procession which might remind of the deeds of a soldier. The pageant (fig. 2) is opened by a number of men wearing



FIG. 2. THE GONGORO PAGEANT, KAMAKURA.

grotesque masks closely resembling those worn in the Gigaku dance, which had been introduced from China at the beginning of the seventh century A.D. A second group is centred round a pair of shoes carried on a tablet and carefully veiled under a cloth. Then follows a pair of masked women, the left one (*i.e.*, holding the place of honour) of rather clear complexion, wearing a small crown, with hairs dishevelled, wandering looks, and other signs of distraction: the right one ostensibly with child, a type well-known from rural forms of Kagura-dance, with uncouth movements, and addressing male on-lookers with apparently ribald remarks. The pageant is closed by men carrying poles, the form of which recalls phallic symbols. The same may be said of the vegetable offerings deposited before the shrine.

No inhabitant of the quarter in which the little shrine is situated seemed to be able to explain the meaning of the masks; they were only regarded as funny. But a very old man living in another part of Kamakura told my servant that the pregnant woman was nobody else than the wife of Hachiman, the Japanese war-god, identified with Emperor Ojin, who is worshipped in the greatest shrine at Kamakura. The grotesque animalistic masks of the procession are said to represent the demon-children which, alone, unfortunately, she had been able to bear before. Now she has been with child for already ten years—a trait echoing, perhaps, the Kojiki tradition about the prolonged pregnancy of Emperor Ojin's mother. The other female mask is supposed to be the midwife who will at last deliver the Queen of a human child. Clearly, this interpretation can neither be reconciled with the appearance and behaviour of the two

female masks, nor with the place of honour given to the crowned woman. But it is interesting to note that amidst all these popular misunderstandings has lingered a dim recollection of magical midwifery and care for fine offspring. A western spectator cannot but see Demeter in the queen-like person verging on madness, and Iambe-Baubo in the countrywoman with her 'quibs and jests' and indecent gestures. Is this another instance of Western myths coming in 'broken music' (*Kōchi Doi*) along Central Asian trade-routes to China since the early Han period, and handed on to Japan some centuries later? And a still more perplexing question: does not the Gongora pageant retain (or reconstitute) an earlier meaning of Baubo's dance and jests as parturition-rite, overlaid in the Homeric Hymn with sentiments of a later age?—a parturition-rite by which the demons endangering the life of mother and child are driven away by awful sights, and the powers of life strengthened by sexual unions that were later replaced by obscene gestures and words? For ethnological parallels see Hasting's *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, II, pp. 637. Did not remnants of such birth-promoting rites enter the Attic Thesmophoria, the fourth day of which was called Kalligeneia; and was it not just for this reason that young girls and slave-women were excluded? (Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, III, pp. 89 ff.) At the Thesmophoria, too, unmentionable objects were thrown into an underground chamber. The Aischrologia, also, in Syracuse was probably connected with Demeter. In Rome, at the festival of Flora, the Roman variant of Demeter, recalls through the association of flowering trees, and cults of fertility, birth and death, the Japanese goddesses Izanami-no-Mikoto and Kono-hana-saku-yori-Hime with the first of which Ama-no-Uzume-no-Mikoto sometimes seems to coincide. The Gongoro Festival, now held in September, was originally celebrated in October, like the Thesmophoria; a month perhaps more appropriate at least in Japan, to think of the coming births resulting from spring-marriages, than of the fertilization of the fields. But I should not like to stress this point, as it is of the essence of such cults that rites of agrarian and human fertility, harvest-rites and rites of birth and (later) of rebirth are not separated by hard-and-fast lines.

Graeco-Japanese parallels are not only to be found in the central group of the Gongora Pageant. The Gigaku mask-bearers present arresting similarities with those 'rows of semi-human, semi-bestial figures dancing and playing' on the drapery of the colossal statues of Demeter and Persephone in the sanctuary of the Two Goddesses at Lycosura in Arcadia (Frazer, *Spirits of the Corn and the Wild*, II, p. 339). The shoes covered by a veil are obviously a late and refined version of the 'unmistakable something' shown at Eleusis and at other Greek festivals connected with mother-cults. In some parts of China, according to Professor R. O. Jameson (*Three Lectures on Chinese Folklore*, Peiping, 1933), women desiring to have children take a shoe from a temple of the goddess who in that district has the power of granting female fecundity. He cites Professor Shirokogoroff's observation that "among the Mandchus a bride is expected to give gifts of shoes to her husband's brothers, and that group marriage is practised in that all the younger brothers have the right of physical access to the wives of their elder brothers. Moreover the slippers are ornamented with *lien hua* which is the vulgar term for female genitalia." May the shoe-form of archaic Chinese silver-money retain an echo of the dual character of the cowrie, which generally is assumed to have been used as money during the Shang period (Creel, *The Birth of China*, 1936, p. 90)—a life-giving amulet representing the pudenda, and a store of value, if not a medium of exchange?

As to the pole-bearers, they will, if seen together with the carriers of that veiled 'something,' evoke the memory of those Rural Dionysia celebrated by Dikaiopolis in Aristophanes. *Acharnians* (v. 242-3) (translated by B. B. Rogers):

"Now, basket-bearer, go you on in front,

"You, Xanthias, hold the phallus-pole erect."

Have similar arrangements of masks and symbols been observed in China or in Central Asia? Perhaps a study of the Japanese Mibu-Kyogen, acted at Kyōto in spring, may lead one step further. A picture of one of its scenes shows a young strong woman, holding a cup (like the *kukeōn* of Eleusis) in her uplifted hand and followed by an old woman, whom I should not hesitate to call another Baubo in disguise and exile.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ANUAK AND] THE FÖRI (SUDAN). By Dr. E. E. Evans-Pritchard, Exeter College, Oxford.

**62** Lafon Hill, to the east of the Nile in the Mongalla, Province of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, is a small dot on the map and has a very small population, but it occupies a key position in relation to the distribution of the Nilotic peoples of the Upper Nile and has consequently figured prominently in ethnological theory.

In *The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, 1905, pp. 147-8, Capt. N. T. Borton is quoted as saying that the inhabitants of Lafon Hill, whom he called Beri and estimated at 3,000 souls, are a mixture of Bari and Latuka. We now know that this statement is incorrect. Mr. R. H. Walsh has pointed out that the population of the hill, which he estimated at about 1,800, came from Anuak country ("The 'Beri,' or more correctly 'Pari,'" *S.N. & R.*, Vol. V, 1922). Mr. J. H. Driberg has confirmed this statement and added to it in an article ("Lafon Hill," *S.N. & R.*, Vol. VIII, 1925) in which he records some of his observations with excerpts from unpublished reports by Kaim. Borton Bey in 1904 and Bimb. Jennings-Bramly in 1909. Mr. Driberg points out that the Föri fall into three sections: the Pugéri, who claim to be Shilluk from the north, and the Boi and the Kor who claim to be Anuak from the north-east. Father J. P. Crazzolara ("The Lwoo People," *The Uganda Journal*, Vol. V, 1937, p. 8), who recently visited the hill, gives a brief account of the Föri (whom he estimates at 6,000) which bears out Driberg's earlier record. He says that physically and linguistically the people are closer to the Shilluk than to the Acholi and confirms that the Pugéri claim to have come first to the hill and to be an offshoot from the Shilluk. The following points of interest arise from a comparison between Driberg's account and certain observations made by myself during a survey of the Anuak as a Leverhulme Fellow in 1935.

There are Anuak lineages at Dibängo and Umëëda on the Agwei and, I was told, at Udiek on the Akobo and at Ulaui on the Gila, who are said to be the last wave of Anuak migration from the south-west to have reached present-day Anuak-land. These lineages are popularly known as Oyuanboi on account of a peculiar spear, unknown to other Anuak, which they once used. This is clearly the Boi of Lafon Hill, who use spears of a type unknown in Anuak-land to-day: a conclusion supported by other evidence. The

Oyuanboi call themselves Jowätyuua, the people of the children of Yuä, and Driberg gives Ywa as the maternal grandfather of the ancestor of the Lafon Boi. It is a common Anuak practice to call a lineage after the maternal grandfather of its founder. Driberg gives the founder of the Boi lineage as Otyeno and the founder of the Kor lineage as his brother Gilo. Both names figure in a Jowätyuua myth, of which I recorded only a fragment (recorded also by Col. C. R. K. Bacon, "The Anuak," *S.N. & R.*, Vol. V, 1922, pp. 114-115), in which Otyeno killed Gilo, an incident which Mr. A. C. A. Wright, who visited Lafon Hill in 1936, tells me is also mentioned in the Government District Book as occurring in the traditions of the Föri. In Driberg's account Otyeno and Gilo were sons of Eno, son of Ochudho, and his wife Achala. He says that the descendants of Gilo are called Kor because they took the same road (*kor*) to their present home as the Boi, but, neglecting both this popular etymology and wide differences between genealogies<sup>1</sup> in the two areas, it is suggested that possibly the title of the lineage may be derived from Kööri who, in Anuak tradition, was the wife of Ucuđu and mother of Gilo—called in consequence Gilo wä Kööri, Gilo, son of Kööri—the first Anuak king, and the progenitor of their noble house. The mythological ancestor of the Boi and Kor lineages at Lafon Hill and of the Anuak nobility was Ochudho: he does not appear in the two Jowätyuua lineages recorded in the footnote<sup>1</sup>. In both areas the myth about him relates that he miraculously appeared out of a river or lake, that the cattle he brought out of the water returned thither because the people broke his command, and that he himself finally returned there after having made a woman pregnant. Anuak say that he left Kööri pregnant, and that she bore him Gilo, the first king; the Föri say that he left Achala pregnant and she bore him Eno, the ancestor of the Boi and Kor lineages. Driberg was at Lafon Hill for only three days, and I was at Dibängo and Umëëda for only a couple of evenings, so that we have only scratched

<sup>1</sup> The only two Jowätyuua lineages recorded were those of headmen at Umëëda (Rai-Gilo-Gilo-Opiau-Agau-Ronyi-Yuä-Boi) and at Dibängo (Udol-Adier-Ngwangi-Dijöm - Bängo - Yuä - Utheno - Ngec - Ngööri - Yuä - Uganä-Märä-Cäng).

the surface. Some preliminary conclusions may, nevertheless, be drawn. The already established connexion between the two areas is further strengthened by finding the Boi or Yuua lineage in Anuak-land, and in that part of it nearest to Lafon Hill. It is true that the Lafon lineages do not claim special rank, although their descent from Ochudho would imply that they are of the same origin as the Anuak nobility; but it must be remembered that sons of nobles in Anuak-land lose their nobility if their fathers have not been invested with the royal insignia, and we know that in past times this often happened. Lineages of persons who have lost their noble status in Anuak-land are known as Jowätong, and it is interesting, therefore, to note that in the excerpts made by Wright from the District Book the Boi and Kor lineages are designated the Atong clan.

The presence of Shilluk at Lafon Hill, confirmed by Crazzolara, lends weight, as Driberg suggests, to the view held by some writers that the Shilluk at one time occupied these regions, before moving northwards to their present home. The similarity between the Shilluk royal house and the Anuak royal house may now be viewed in relation to the fact that there are lineages at Lafon Hill which trace their descent from the same ancestor as the Anuak nobles. It can hardly be doubted that there is some historical connexion between the Anuak nobility and the Shilluk nobility, and since it is improbable that either people split off from the other in their present territories, one looks for a geographical link between them. Whatever may be the conclusions drawn from the fact, such a link is to be

found at Lafon Hill, a position which fits in with the claims of the Shilluk to have come from the south and the claims of the Anuak to have come from the south-west. It is true that the Anuak of Lafon Hill say (as Walsh, Driberg, and Crazzolara report), that they migrated from present Anuak country in the north-east, but what little information we have tends to show that at one time there was intercommunication between Lafon Hill and the Pibor and its tributaries, before Beir (Murle) intrusion, and there may well have been movements in both directions.

One of the chief ethnological problems concerning the Anuak is to account for the fact that their royal house is found only in the south-east of Anuak-land, and that in other parts a different political system obtains. A possible explanation, though not the only one, is to suppose that a section of Shilluk origin moved with the Anuak into their present territory, possibly after the settlement of the main body of Anuak; and such a move was probably not from the present Shilluk-land, but is likely to have been from the south. As none of the southern Nilotes have, as far as is known, a nobility like that of the Anuak, it would seem that Lafon Hill is the most likely place, especially since there are at that hill lineages which claim the same descent as the Anuak nobles, and also good evidence of a Shilluk reoccupation. The question has to be left at this point till we have more information about the political organization of the Acholi, and about the headmen of Shilluk local groups and their relations with the Shilluk royal family.

**BLOOD GROUPS FROM THE ANDAMANS.** *By Professor R. Ruggles Gates, F.R.S. King's College, London. Illustrated.*

**63** Blood tests from the Andaman Islands are so difficult to obtain that even a few are worth publishing. The new results given here were obtained by Dr. Bijeta Chaudhuri, the Medical Officer at Port Blair, using serum sent from the Haffkine Institute, Bombay. The Ongês are a friendly tribe. Fig. 1 shows three of them photographed several years ago but not blood-grouped. They clearly show the negro characters.

In his letter of 4 January, 1939, Dr. Chaudhuri says he was only able to test five Ongês (Table I) which he happened to find crossing the jungle; "others did not turn up last September or

"October as they did in previous years." He was also unable to go to North Andaman where a few friendly Andamanese live; but they are more or less mixed with Indian blood.

Regarding the Jarawa, he says: "We were extremely lucky to capture three months ago a mother (pregnant) and her three boys and a girl apparently not of the same family." "This is the only hostile aboriginal tribe that still exists in the Andamans, but they are of purest blood." The young mother and her three boys were perfectly healthy and she had recently given birth to a fourth boy. "Previously they were very suspicious of us but





FIG. 1. THREE ONGÊ NATIVES OF THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

"nowadays they are extremely friendly. These Jarawa children are both physically and mentally very clean, healthy, and have wonderful sense of discipline."

The blood-grouping results are given in Table I.

O A B AB

Jarawa, tested	2.1.39	5	-	-	-	Chaudhuri.
Ongê, „	17.8.38	1	3	1	-	„
Ongê, „	1931	2	0	3	1	Indian Census Report, 1931.

Vol. II, p. 21.

Some of the Ongês, due to their friendly disposition, "have come into contact with outside influence, and intermingling with runaway "convicts in the past cannot be ignored." Whether this is sufficient to account for the marked difference from the Jarawa in blood groups cannot be said. The Jarawa were each tested three



FIG. 2. JARAWA MOTHER AND HER THREE CHILDREN.

times with the same result, except that one boy's blood gave slight agglutination in the second test with the standard B serum "due to some "technical mistake." It was tested a fourth time with negative result.

Fig. 2 shows the Jarawa mother and her three sons: Fig. 3, the four Jarawa children.



FIG. 3. FOUR JARAWA CHILDREN, THREE BROTHERS STANDING.

The six Ongês recorded in the Indian Census 1931 were tested by the I.M.O. at Port Blair in



1931 at the instance of Dr. J. H. Hutton. It will be seen that the two results are sufficiently in accord when the numbers are so small. Unless the sera were inactive, the Jarawa were, on the contrary, all O. Since the mother and three children were all O it is highly probable that the father was also O. The fact that an apparently unrelated child belonged to the same blood group

increases the general significance of the result. Dr. Chaudhuri states that both the Ongês and the Jarawa were tested with the same sera, and that the activity of the sera was tested afterwards.

In a letter dated 27 February, 1939, Dr. Chaudhuri says: "I regret to say that recently I came across another batch of five Ongês but unfortunately I could not complete their tests."

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

### Special Meeting of the Royal Anthropological Institute at Cambridge: 24 February, 1940.

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The report of this meeting is held over till the May number of MAN, in order that summaries of the communications may be published with it.

### The Pilagá Indians of the Gran Chaco, N. Argentina.

65

Summary of a Communication by Mr. Alfred Cox: 5th March, 1940.

The Pilagá Indians are a proud, brave race of primitive people living in the Argentine Gran Chaco. They occupy a region situated on the Pilcomayo River in the Territory of Formosa. They are often wrongly referred to as Toba Indians; they themselves claim to be the *Napi'lagasi* ('the people who wash') hence the name *Pi'lagá*. They are nomadic and live by hunting, fishing, and the collecting of wild fruits. Their whole economic system is being changed by the advance of civilization into their region, so that these people are in the transition stage of their economy. Once a meat-eating people they are now becoming a people who feed largely upon the *algarroba* and *chañar* fruits.

In the eyes of the Pilagá the main characteristic of himself is the elongated ear-lobe of the men, and the tattooed face of the women. The ear is pierced with a sword-like needle, a piece of grass is inserted into the wound, which, when it has become cicatrized, is distended by addition of more grasses, till it is able to hold small sticks, and finally, an ornament of one-inch radius. The tattooing of the faces of the females starts at the age of eight and continues at intervals of two years. Not only is it an endurance-test, but it also acts as an adornment to their feminine charm.

These aborigines have no deity, but fear a spirit who they call *Payac*, who sometimes assumes the form of a fox, a goat-snake, or a dog. Ceremonial blood-letting is practised, in hunting and fruit-gathering in order to kill or wound the spirit of the animal or plant that might have entered or is to enter them.

### Yakö Marriage. Summary of a Communication by Professor Daryll Forde, 19 March, 1940.

66

The marital relation among the Yakö is characterized by the usual functions of maintaining a household by complementary labour of the man and wife and the rearing of children.

The stages whereby this relation is established, the obligations and group activities associated with these stages and the trend of a number of changes are discussed.

In indicating the general character of the stages, the first marriage of a woman is considered. A period of sexual play begins early in adolescence, for girls sometimes before menstruation begins, and occurs in parties of girls and boys, usually differing little in age. Parents exert little overt influence on the selection of partners by their sons and daughters.

Between the ages of 14 and 16 years most girls have established a stable relation with one lover, who at harvest time undertakes to make the customary gifts and services (*kōkōla*) to her and her parents during the ensuing year. These, if acceptable to the parents, signify betrothal. The services include the provision of certain farm labour and materials, for which the youth depends on the help of his age-grade fellows. At this or the succeeding harvest the parents declare their intention to arrange the clitorodectomy rite (*kūkpōt*) for the daughter at the next harvest, when it is known as *kekpōpam*. During this rite, in which the age-grade (*ekō*) fellows of the groom, those of the bride, those of her father and those of her mother participate, the marriage payment (*libeman*) is handed over by the groom to the father who later transfers part to a close matrilineal kinsman of the bride. If, however, the girl has already become pregnant, the rite is held not at harvest time but at a later form (known as *likpōkōt*) during the sixth month of pregnancy.

After the harvestrite (*kekpōpam*) the bride observes a period of seclusion during which she has richer food and respite from all hard labour, which continues until the next harvest, unless pregnancy occurs earlier. In any case the bride normally remains in her parents' household throughout pregnancy and until the harvest following the birth of her child. Only secluded girls who fail to achieve pregnancy after a full year join their husbands before the birth of a child, and these return to their mothers' households for the first birth.

An outstanding feature of the group activities associated with these stages is the fact that, despite the importance of kinship in the provision and allocation of the marriage payments, the patrilineal and matrilineal clan organizations of the groom and

the bride are little involved; and it is not among their clan folk that the groom, the bride, and her parents, celebrate the marriage.

Personal ties established within the framework of the age-grade organizations are expressed in both the tasks and the feasts associated with marriage. Declared friendships between the members of self-constituted groups within each of the age grades are established at an early age, usually before the formal establishment of the age-grades themselves. It is the groups of age-grade friends of each of the four persons chiefly concerned with the establishment of a marriage, i.e., those of the groom, the bride, and the bride's parents, that carry out the customary services and participate in the gift exchanges. The clitorodectomy rite (*kūkpot*) is the occasion of a protracted feast given by each of the girl's parents to their age-grade friends and to those of the bride and the groom. During this feast the parents receive considerable gifts which they are obliged to reciprocate later at higher values on the occasion of similar rites for their friends' daughters.

Neither the patrilineal and matrilineal relatives of the bridegroom, nor the wider kin groups to which they belong, participate. Moreover the close matrilineal relatives of the bride, to one of whom (a 'mother's brother' who assumes responsibility for the partial repayment of the marriage money in the event of divorce) the greater part of the marriage money should be transferred, only visit the bride and her parents after the feasts are concluded.

In later marriages of women who are widows, or are divorced from their first husbands, no rituals, feasts, or gifts occur, and the marital status is established and recognized in the second case by the return to the former husband of part of the marriage payment by the new spouse or by a relative of the woman.

Analysis of all the marriages of the men of all ages of one patrilineal clan show that a number of changes have occurred during the past two generations in the circumstances and character of Yakō marriage. While among women now aged c. 50 years and more, only half were pregnant before the marriage rite (i.e., *kūkpot* and transfer of marriage payment) there is a progressive increase in the

proportion among the younger women which reaches over 80 per cent. among those now under 25 years. There are predominating and approved age relations between spouses at marriage. The first marriages of youths should be and usually are with unmarried girls of age grades equivalent to their own. At the same time men also usually seek for their second or later wives young previously unmarried women who are necessarily junior to them in age grade. These two tendencies would appear to be incompatible under conditions of normal sex ratio and there is indeed evidence of this, in the marked recent increase of both first and later marriages of the younger men with *senior* women. Their coexistence in the past was probably made possible by the surplus of nubile females made available through the purchase of foreign female children for adoption, a practice which has been severely curtailed during the last generation.

**South-East Europe.** *Miss M. E. Durham's Collection of Drawings and Photographs illustrating peasant life in Serbia, Montenegro, and Albania.*

The Royal Anthropological Institute has received from its Fellow, Miss M. E. Durham, a valuable collection of her sketches and photographs, made in the course of her travels in many parts of Serbia, in the former principality of Montenegro, and in Albania. The results of these journeys have been long published, and illustrated by some of these pictures. Now the whole collection, mounted in three large albums, and fully described, has been presented to the Institute's Library, and will be greatly valued, and (it is hoped) much consulted. Besides views of landscape and buildings, there are careful studies of domestic interiors, household furniture, agricultural implements, and (above all) a rich series of costumes, many of them in colour; to which a peculiar charm is given by Miss Durham's lively portraits of the wearers. One section records many decorative designs for textiles, wood-carving and tattoo-marks; the latter were commonly worn where Miss Durham was travelling.

As the older mode of life in these countries has been much deranged by modern habits and imports, the value of such a record as this is exceptional. Such sketches can never be made again. J. L. M.

## REVIEWS.

### ARCHÆOLOGY.

**Petra: The Rock City of Edom.** By Margaret A. Murray. London: Blackie, 1939. xiv+210 pp., 32 plates, 8 text figures, 2 sketch maps. Price 10s. 6d. net.

Her immense energy has enabled Dr. Murray to carry out another excavation in a part of the world that is new even to her. The result at present is that, while we wait for a report of the excavations themselves, we have a very readable account of a hitherto almost inaccessible spot.

Beautiful photographs of the monuments and striking features of the remarkable place, a description of the

scenery and sights, and a discussion of what previous travellers have said, are only introductory. Then comes a chapter on 'The Trials and Troubles of an Excavator,' a wholesome corrective for the public which vaguely thinks that excavating is a kind of picnic, and an insight into the ways of the modern inhabitants, which is the peculiar and happy prerogative of the excavator.

Although next to nothing is known of the history of Petra directly, it is astonishing how much the author has been able to piece together from outside sources. These are the Old Testament, notices by Assyrian con-

querors, remarks by classical authors, references in the Quran and other Arabic books, coins, and finally the habits of the present population. From such scraps it has been possible to sketch in the outlines of the history and life of the place.

The periods of the history of Petra seem to be two, though who the Kenites and Horites may have been is still a mystery. The Edomites of Old Testament days were pushed out and became the Idumaeans of classical days. Those who pushed them out were the Nabateans, who hewed the great monuments which have made the place famous. These monuments are of the late Hellenistic period rather than of the Roman, for Petra began to decline under the *Pax Romana*. Edom and Seir are first mentioned by name in Egyptian records of the late twelfth century B.C., Genesis gives a list of kings before Saul, and later the Assyrian kings give the names of their contemporaries. From the Old Testament we get many scraps of information, such as the relationship between the Children of Israel and the Edomites which was closer than between them and the Moabites and Ammonites. It did not, however, prevent terrible wars, notably when David depopulated the country, and later when Amaziah exterminated the people at Petra.

The Nabateans are first mentioned by Assurbanipal, and seem to have come to Petra at the beginning of the sixth century B.C., when Nebuchadnezzar depopulated Palestine. From Alexander's time to the second century A.D. quite a good list of kings can be got out. After this, Petra disappears from history.

The importance of Petra was due to trade, for it formed the link between the Mediterranean world and the East, whether the goods came by caravan from Arabia, or from the port of Ezion-geber (Aelana, Aqabah) on the Red Sea. From Petra they went on westwards to Gaza. The neighbourhood had been wealthy already in Edomite days, as is shown in II Chron. xx, 25. Earlier still the wearing of gold earrings had been characteristic of the Ishmaelites.

The religion of the Edomites resembled that of Israel, and in fact Yahweh himself originated in Edom. The Nabateans represented their god as a squared block of stone. Their god was Dhu'l Shara, 'The Lord of Seir,' hellenized into Dusares, and his mother was Al Uzza. Dusares seems to have been primarily a god of the kingship. Human sacrifice was common among the heathen Arabs even as late as the fifth century A.D. It is not surprising, therefore, that it took place at Petra also, especially as at least one deity, Al Uzza, was worshipped by both peoples. A young man was the most acceptable victim, and he was put to death by the sword.

The saints of the locality are Moses and Aaron, while Pharaoh figures largely as a great magician and the constructor of the monuments. It is curious to note how often the Old Testament credits the Edomites with wisdom.

Interesting scraps of information about Edomite customs are that the kings were foreigners who each obtained the throne by marriage, and that the lowest degradation for a man was that his wife should grind corn for another family.

Among the Nabateans the custom should be mentioned whereby a man drank eleven cups at the king's feasts. The royal house, at least, practised brother-and-sister marriage. The people were great engineers, as witnessed by their water system and vast rock-hewn monuments. They also seem to have manufactured glass and to have worked iron.

For the benefit of those who want to go into any point in more detail, a bibliography is added.

G. A. WAINWRIGHT.

**The Stone Age of Mount Carmel; Vol. 2. The Fossil Human Remains from the Levallois-Mousterian.** By T. D. McCown and Sir Arthur Keith. Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1939. 390 pp., with 28 plates and 247 text-figures. Price 63s.

Until a few weeks ago, if the present writer had been asked to name the finest example of a monographic study of fossil human remains, he would have referred to Boule's account of *L'Homme de la Chapelle-aux-Saints*. The appearance of this volume from the Clarendon Press, dealing with the early fossil human remains from Mount Carmel, may well demand a different answer. For this book is a very fine production in every sense—it provides an exhaustive exposition of technical matters with a clarity which makes it easily intelligible to the non-specialist, and at the same time loses nothing of its value as an accurate analysis of detailed anatomical observations.

The discovery of the human remains at Mount Carmel has been already detailed in the companion volume under the authorship of Professor Dorothy Garrod and Dr. Bate. For anatomical study there were available from the Levallois-Mousterian level in the Mughareet es-Skhul and et-Tabun caves the remains of nine adults and three children and, in addition, a quantity of isolated bones. Thus the material allows of a fairly complete study of these ancient inhabitants of Palestine, and the authors have dealt very thoroughly with it. Each character of each skeletal fragment has been analysed and appraised in a manner which is only made possible by extensive and detailed knowledge. The result is a work remarkable for personality and character, and for the insight it shows into problems of human evolution in its later phases.

The most interesting conclusion is that the people of Mount Carmel were astonishingly variable in their physical characters. They showed also a strange mixture of palaeanthropic and neanthropic traits, and the crux of the problem which they raise is undoubtedly to be found in the interpretation which is put on this mixture. The authors incline to the opinion that it is the manifestation of an evolutionary instability, related to the fact that at this time and in this region the production of divergent palaeanthropic and neanthropic types was actually taking place. In other words, the Mount Carmel people were 'in the throes of evolutionary change.' Such conclusions, however, are expressed with a certain restraint, for it is emphasised again and again that serious gaps still exist in the fossil sequence of early Man, and until these gaps become filled by the accumulation of further palaeontological evidence, definitive statements are clearly not possible.

We are not told what were the respective parts played by the two authors in the production of this book. We know that the junior author, Mr. McCown, was a member of the field staff and assisted Professor Garrod in the actual excavations. He must also be congratulated on the skill and patience with which he extricated some of the skeletal remains from a very resistant and obstinate matrix. We would pay a special tribute, however, to Sir Arthur Keith. Every page of the book, indeed every line, betrays his inimitable style, his personality, and his profound anatomical experience. Every text-figure betrays his skilful and understanding pencil, and gives expression to the devoted care with which he has prepared his studies in his delightful retreat at Downe during the last few years. The volume is a masterpiece of the science of human palaeontology—a fitting climax to the life-work of Sir Arthur. All anthropologists who are interested in fossil Man, whether anatomists or not, should be acquainted with it.

W. E. LE GROS CLARK.

**Archæology and Society.** By Grahame Clark. London: Methuen, 1939. xiv+220 pp., 24 plates. Price 7s. 6d.

70

"It is not easy to-day," says the author in his preface, "to write a book about archæology that will interest the general reader, and yet maintain a high standard of integrity." Yet he has certainly succeeded. He starts with the history of archæology, and tells us of the more or less accidental ways in which archæological discoveries have been made; then describes the varying climates and soils which make for the preservation or destruction of ancient remains, and sets out the methods adopted by modern archæology to explore ancient sites, and where possible to preserve them and all objects found on them. He then deals with the study of sequence and especially of stratigraphy, and discusses glacial phases, strand-lines, pollen analysis, tree-rings, and other methods of establishing chronology, relative or absolute.

The next chapter deals with the interpretation of archæological results, especially by comparisons with existing savage cultures; and the last discusses the present state of the science, its educational value, and the use made of it in certain countries to inculcate nationalistic sentiments.

There is very little fault to be found. The author seems to suppose that the Old Testament and the Quran were composed by pastoralists, and is hence led to suggest that pastoralists built Stonehenge and Avebury (p. 180). But this is impossible, since pastoralists, unlike cultivators, have no off-season. There are a very few slips, of which the worst is "not unseldom" for "often" (p. 45).

The illustrations are admirable, but many of them are a long way from their reference in the text.

The faults, however, are trivial, and the book is certainly one which should be in the possession of every amateur archæologist. RAGLAN.

**Ten Years under the Earth.** By Norbert Casteret, translated and edited by Barrows Nussery. London: J. M. Dent & Sons. Price 12s. 6d.

71

Lovers of Lewis Carroll will remember that

"... at first sight the crew were not pleased with 'the view

"Which consisted of chasms and crags."

In this they differed signally from M. Casteret to whom these uncompromising elements do most appeal. The more he has to do perilous things with rope-ladders, to squirm and squeeze, swim and dive, in the dark underground, the more thrill does he get out of his cave-exploration.

Some of the merits of this fascinating book are, in fact, separate essays, each one describing in dramatic fashion a cave-exploring expedition. There is always a thrill in cave hunting, and the author has managed to 'get over' some of his own enthusiasm. But the early dawn of human culture—including especially the first appearances of art—also has its devoted students, and the author has not omitted to study his caves from their point of view. Such a book, giving first-hand information, is important in spreading an interest in cave-work. At the same time the specialist and instructed reader will find little new matter in it. I welcome this book, however, just because it will inspire the general reader. M. C. B.

#### AMERICA.

**Excavations at Snaketown: I. Material Culture.** Harold S. Gladwin and others. **II. Comparisons and Theories.** Harold Gladwin. Privately printed for Gila Pueblo Globe, Arizona. 1937.

72

In these two splendidly illustrated volumes are published the results of a number of years' intensive and highly skilled excavation carried out in the Hohokam area by Mr. Harold Gladwin and his group. The first and larger volume deals with the Material Culture of the area with chapters on Stratigraphy, Ball Courts, Houses, Burial, Stone Implements and Bowls, Stone Palettes and Ornaments, Shell, Bone, Minerals and Metals, Pottery, Fossils, Skeletal Remains, etc. Diagrams showing the frequency of the various objects found during the different phases are given. There are nearly sixty plates as well as nearly the same number of figures in the text illustrating the pottery found which shows a remarkable variety of decorations. It is interesting to find 'Lost colour ware' or 'Negative painting' amongst the shards, a form of decoration which is better known from Panama and Ecuador. The earliest pottery found—the Vahki phase—he dates at 300 B.C. Perhaps the most striking objects found were the etched shells which appear to be peculiar to the site. The discovery of Ball Courts related to those in Mexico and Maya Area is very important.

In the second volume, 'Comparisons and Theories,' the author discusses early man and his culture in North America. The chapter 'Early Stages in North America' is most interesting but will doubtless challenge much criticism and opposition. Mr. Gladwin believes in an infiltration of man into America at least 20,000 years ago. He discusses the relationship of the Early Stone finds in various districts, and has diagrams to show what he believes to be the evolution of certain types of implements. He quite rightly holds that it is fundamentally unsound to compare the flint industries

of America with those of Europe and North Africa. It is to be hoped we may never hear the expressions American Mousterian or Solutrian.

Mr. Gladwin is a 'diffusionist,' and it would be difficult to confute some of his arguments. Few people believe, I imagine, that the spear-thrower, the making of bark-cloth and pan-pipes were invented independently in more than one place, although they might well believe the use of the conch-trumpet, stilts, and the signal-gong could have been discovered in more than one area. The book is well written and is most interesting. The author's theories are always stimulating even when one cannot agree with them, and Mr. Gladwin is certainly to be congratulated on his work. L. C. G. CLARKE.

**Mexican Mosaic.** By Rodney Gallop. London: Faber. 299 pp., illustrated. 15s.

73

**Mexican Mosaic** contains a wealth of material which is of permanent value to anthropologists. It is essentially a study of the culture-changes that have taken place during the 400 years since the Spaniards invaded Mexico, where they found in full bloom an Indian civilization of quite a high order. The Spanish conquistadores destroyed most of the higher traits of the aboriginal culture, but it is the Spaniard in the long run who has been assimilated, racially and culturally. This is especially noticeable in the religious festivals; while even the architecture, the style of which was imported ready-made from Spain, becomes transformed in the hands of Indian craftsmen, achieving an individuality and exuberance which is entirely Mexican.

To the anthropologist perhaps the most interesting pages in Mr. Gallop's book are those in which he describes aboriginal cultural traits which have survived the Spanish Conquest. Notable among these is the 'flying game,' admirably described and illustrated in chapter X. These flying dancers, whose revolutions symbolized

the calendrical cycle of 52 years, performed in Aztec Tenochtitlán, and it is interesting to compare Mr. Gallop's account of the ceremony as it took place in the twentieth century with that of Tenochtitlán writing shortly after the Conquest. Mr. Gallop took him far off the beaten track, and his account of the pagan fertility-cults still practised in certain remote villages of the Sierra de Puebla is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of Mexican folklore. Where the author has blazed the trail, the trained investigator should follow to explore a field which possesses exceptional possibilities.

*Mexican Mosaic* covers a wide range of subjects and is written with a sympathetic understanding of the Indian character. I know of no book which gives such an accurate and vivid account of the Indian culture as it survives to-day in Mexico. R. H. K. MARETT.

**Exploraciones en Oaxaca.** By Alfonso Caso. Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia. Publ. No. 34. Tacubaya D.F. Mexico. 1938.

**74** Dr. Alfonso Caso gives us another valuable contribution to our knowledge of the Zapotecs, on which he speaks with great authority.

The book is a report of the work at Monte Albán in the excavation seasons 1936-37, and contains very full plans and numerous figures. It also has several coloured plates of the remarkable frescoes, which are the first Zapotec paintings of their kind yet discovered. Some work was also done at Tilantongo and Yucunudahui.

The general result of the expeditions was strongly to confirm the author's previous classification of the ceramics of Monte Albán into five periods and to add to the number of known Zapotec glyphs. It also appeared that there was an old Mixtec culture at Yucunudahui, distinct from the late Mixtec of the time of the Spanish conquest. Another interesting result was the connexion shown with Teotihuacan.

Perhaps the most important of the author's conclusions is that the calendar system of the Zapotec was used in the most ancient of his Zapotec ceramic periods, which he believes may even antedate the Maya.

This, if confirmed by later investigation, would have far-reaching effects on scientific opinion, and might compel a drastic revision of previously held views on Middle American civilization.

Among his discoveries in Zapotec writing one may mention that for the first time a numeral for fifteen was found. It cannot be determined at present what its signification was, but, as Dr. Caso says, it is not a date in the ritual calendar, being over thirteen.

Altogether this book is a very valuable contribution to knowledge and should be read by all students of the archaeology of Middle America. RICHARD C. E. LONG.

**A Grammar of Lakota, the Language of the Teton Sioux Indians.** By Eugene Buechel, S.J., Saint Francis' Mission, South Dakota, 1839. viii + 374 pp. Price \$2.25, post paid.

**75** It illustrates a fresh phase of the "clash of cultures" that, in the words of the preface "the Indians have again become race-conscious, and want to speak the language of their forefathers. But who was to help them?" The author supplies the answer, encouraged by a new Administration in South Dakota, which has established the policy of protecting the Indians as "Indians, and of favoring all that is good in their culture." He aims to help in "learning to speak the language" and his book is arranged accordingly, adhering to the plan of older grammarians, but with precautions against the notion that Lakota is an "inflected" language like Greek and Latin. Very sensibly, marks for aspirates and other accidentals are used (and also one special letter), but "when the student masters Lakota, he may omit these marks and write as the Indian does." Every grammatical fact and idiom is amply illustrated by phrases, some biblical, but the majority dealing with everyday matters. For economy the whole book has been photographed from a typed copy, and has come through the process very well. A fly-sheet enclosed in the review-copy gives a clear and useful account of Lakota-speaking folk.

J. L. M.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

**Nationalism.** (Cf. MAN, 1940, 57.)

**76** SIR,—I agree with Mr. H. G. Wells and Dr. Piddington that the major obstacle to a European Federation is that peculiar and turbulent manifestation of human nature which we recognize under the name of 'nationalism.' But Dr. Piddington and I differ fundamentally as to the biological or anthropological significance which should be attached to nationalism; while I hold that it is a manifestation of qualities deeply seated in the functional constitution of the human brain, he regards it as a kind of superstition which man would do well to get rid of. Indeed, he describes it as an 'anachronism,' and cites certain insular specks of humanity in the Pacific, which we Europeans might copy with advantage. If this discussion is to be helpful it will be better to choose examples nearer home. There is—at the moment at which I write—the case of Finland. What is she fighting for? She is fighting against enormous odds to maintain her national independence. Driven on by her patriotism she is sacrificing the flower of her manhood for this end. Now the inward drive which compels a people to act as the Finns now do, must be deeply seated in their nature; men lay down their lives only when they feel or conceive an issue to be vital. The response which the heroism of the Finns has evoked in the breasts of

the free peoples of the world show that mankind shares with them the conviction that freedom and national independence are worth fighting for.

Dr. Piddington does not share in this conviction; he holds nationalism—in all its manifestations—to be an 'anachronism.' He clearly believes that the Finns would have acted rationally if they had accepted the invitation of Moscow to become a member-state under the Soviet Government, and so, to use his own words "clothe the impulse towards international order in concrete institutions." The Finns are an intelligent and civilized people. Why, then, did they not accept Russia's invitation? Had they accepted, their country would not now be a bomb-stricken ruin and her best blood soaking in her soil. Compare the fate of Poland with that of Czecho-Slovakia for further enlightenment.

From the point of view of a worldly economist the Finns have behaved most irrationally. What Dr. Piddington and I have to explain is why, in our anthropological world, men, whether grouped in tribes or in nations (which are but big tribes welded together by force), always do behave in this 'irrational' manner. Nationalism may be an 'anachronism'; that term fails to explain why and how such irrational behaviour has come into being in the mentality of mankind, and why its hold on us is now so powerful and has been as



far back as history can carry us. Dr. Piddington does not seem to know of the papers I have published on the origin and evolutionary significance of the tribal and national spirit—at least he makes no mention of them in his letter to you (MAN, 1940, 57)—nor need I burden these pages with them, as a list is given in one of the latest contributions I have made to this subject—*The Place of Prejudice in Modern Civilization* (1931, p. 15). Those who wish to know why I differ from Dr. Piddington regarding the biological significance of nationalism will find my evidence in these papers. I hope to amplify my evidence in a work I am now preparing for publication. But for those who wish my case in brief, I may state it in the following terms.

We all agree that there is in men and women an impulse so strong that it compels them at all costs to preserve their individual lives; what I add to this is that there is in all members of a social community—be it tribe or nation—an impulse almost equally strong which compels them to maintain the tribe or nation to which they belong at all costs. These are Nature's defensive mechanisms for preserving the individual and the tribe or nation. There are also aggressive mechanisms, although not so strong, which make individuals and nations willing to risk life itself to further the means and opportunities of life—individual or national, as the case may be. In the instances I have just cited, the Finns display the defensive, the Russians the aggressive mechanism. Men also sacrifice life for religious causes—for so sure are they of a future existence that they will sacrifice their earthly life to secure a heavenly. ARTHUR KEITH.

#### The Future of the Savage Races.

**77** SIR,—It has often been urged against anthropologists that they wish to keep certain parts of the world—those inhabited by interestingly peculiar savages—as 'anthropological museums.' Whether or not this is true, it seems to me that anthropologists have given insufficient thought to the future of savages in general.

We all of us wish to see the world a better place, a place where wiser people than ourselves will lead happier and fuller lives, and it is surely desirable that anthropologists should make their contribution, theoretical as well as practical, towards this end.

What exactly makes for wisdom and happiness may be disputed, but there can at any rate be no doubt that one of the chief causes of folly and unhappiness is that complex of beliefs and practices which we describe as 'magic.' That nobody is wiser or happier as the result of belief in demons, witchcraft, and the evil eye, or the practice of human sacrifice, torture, and mutilation, will hardly be disputed, yet anthropologists often plead for the preservation of cultures of which these are prominent features. The British government has abolished human sacrifice throughout its dominions, and no scientist has pleaded for its retention, yet, although more rational, there is no more irrational and inhuman than many other features of every savage culture.

Progress can be achieved in two ways only, that is to say, by improving the best and by eliminating the worst, and by the worst we can only mean that which is the least humane, rational, and scientific.

It may be urged that savages have now so little influence on human affairs in general that their survival in a state of savagery can have no effect on the general progress of the race. This seems extremely doubtful. The ease with which men relapse into savagery and superstition is only too obvious, and the continued existence of reservoirs of undiluted savagery and super-

stition must make such relapses easier. Plague spots will remain from which the rest of the world, if it should ever get a clean bill of health, will inevitably be reinfected.

The worst evils of the day arise from the survival of savage beliefs, and of the habits of mind with which such beliefs are associated. We can never be really civilized until we are all civilized.

Our proper course, then, in dealing with the savage races of our empire, is to try to civilize them as rapidly as possible. By this I do not mean that they should be deprived of their ancestral lands or exploited in any way, but that we should bring to them our justice, our education, and our science. Few will deny that these are better than anything which savages have got, but many claim that, though good for Europeans, they are bad for Asiatics or Africans. That some of our civilization are bad for Asiatics and Africans cannot be disputed, but these are also bad for Europeans; it is surely impossible to maintain positively, as many do by implication, that up-to-date medicine, surgery, sanitation and scientific agriculture are bad for anyone.

Some maintain that good as these things are, they are good for savages only if the savages develop them for themselves. We must then conclude that our own educational and health services are bad for us, because they have in almost every case had to be forced on local authorities by the central government. It is possible, though highly improbable, that in a hundred years' time the Solomon Islanders will discover the method of making chloroform; must we therefore deprive them of it now?

To attempt to lay down any general scheme of advancement would be absurd, since conditions differ so enormously, but it is greatly to be desired that anthropologists should array themselves on the side of progress, and not allow their science to be linked, in the minds either of European administrators or educated non-Europeans, with a policy of deliberately keeping savages savage. RAGLAN.

#### The Meaning of the Cowrie-Shell in Nigeria. (Cf. MAN, 1939, 165; 1940, 20.)

**78** SIR,—Some data from Nigeria may be of interest in this discussion. In Nigeria cowries are still in use as currency. They are also used as funerary gifts, counters in games, for decorating shrines, coverings of graves, clothes, and as charms worn on the person, and in divination.

In the Yergum tribe it is customary to place flour and cowries in the hands of dead chiefs, and in numerous other tribes cowries are deposited in graves. There is no apparent association here between the cowries and rebirth—they are merely money for the journey, or for use in the next world. Lander once met an ex-chief of Iddah who had been deposed for digging up and appropriating the cowries—enough to fill three huts—which had been buried with his father, the previous chief. The son excused himself on the ground that his father had been greedy in attempting to take to the next world the whole of his wealth in this.

In some Yoruba groups it is said that if a bridegroom finds that his bride is not *virgo intacta* he sends some pure white cowries to her mother, but otherwise some old discoloured ones. There is possibly here an association between the cowry and the human *vulva*.

When cowries are worn as charms, the usual explanation is that they avert evil. Among some Ibo, when a child cuts its first tooth, it is taken to a priest who ties bands of cowries round its waist—presumably as an amulet. Among the Jukun, parents may tie a few cowries round a child's neck, but in this case the reason



given was that evil spirits might be deceived into thinking that the child was a slave (bought with cowries) and therefore unworthy of attention (see my book *A Sudanese Kingdom*, p. 366). According to N. W. Thomas (*J.R.A.I.*, Vol. 52, 1922), among the Edo of Iyawa, when a woman finds that she is pregnant she takes a cowry, washes it with 'medicine' and ties it round her waist. No reason is stated, but the cowry in this case is less likely to be a fertility charm than a protection against evil. All over W. Africa pregnant women wear amulets of various kinds to safeguard themselves from the witchcraft that would cause a miscarriage. Witchcraft includes the evil eye.

Cowries are not (so far as I know) used as symbols of the Earth-goddess, who is closely associated with fertility. But tortoise-shells sometimes are. (See P. A. Talbot *Southern Nigeria*, II, p. 63.) Among the Ukelle, however, there is a deity called Akpa who is represented by a female figure holding a baby, "the figure is . . . clay and decorated with cowries." (Talbot, II, p. 119).

The use of cowries in divination may be due to their suitability for 'odd and even' computations. But as the paraphernalia and 'medicines' of diviners are largely chosen for their supposed power of conferring second-sight or of 'opening the eyes' it may well be that diviners employ cowries because of their resemblance to human eyes. That there is a sense of this resemblance is obvious from the fact that cowries are used to represent eyes in the fashioning of human images. Among the Tiv, for example, in many of the sacred voice-disguisers which personate the dead and are fashioned to resemble human heads, "two cowries are fixed in the wax to 'look like eyes.'" (See *Akiga's Story*, Oxford University Press, p. 226.)

Thus, though the cowry may be an emblem of fertility in many parts of the world, including Nigeria, there is strong support from Nigeria for the view of Miss Murray that it is an emblem of the human eye. As such it would not only be a suitable charm against the Evil Eye, as Miss Murray suggests, but also a means of detecting and so warding off numerous forms of witchcraft and of discovering other things which are normally invisible. C. K. MEEK.

#### The Cowrie Shell in British Cameroons.

**79** SIR,—With reference to Miss Murray's letter (MAN, 1939, 165) on the meaning of the cowrie shell, exception is taken to the assertions made unsupported by evidence. If Miss Murray were to say, 'I consider that . . . etc.', 'it is my opinion that . . . etc.', the assertions could pass; but to say that 'the cowrie is, and always has been, worn by men and other male animals as frequently as it has been worn by women,' is an assertion unsupported by any evidence. Would Miss Murray make good the omission, please?

To encourage her I will give my own opinion, based on twenty-five years' work in Nigeria, whose population exceeds twenty million persons and where the cowrie is still extensively used (a) as currency, (b) as a charm. My work has been in the densely populated areas, 400-600 to the square mile.

I have seen innumerable women adorned with cowrie shells; in proof, see, for example, the photographs in the Rev. Basden's two books on the Igbo, a population of five millions: but I have seen very few men so adorned.

As for 'the psychological fact that women almost invariably keep sex charms hidden,' again the evidence for this assertion is not given. Contrast Miss Murray's remark with the following: "The . . . no means devoid of modesty, they . . . shame to nakedness itself. This . . . in the notable fact that when clothing is first assumed,

"it is the man who dons the dress, while the woman, especially the unmarried girl, goes naked."—(S. Herbert, *Fundamentals in Sex Ethics*, London, 1920, p. 41.) I can confirm that among the Igbo, the Tiv and the Northern Cameroon tribes the men are clothed and the women naked. In proof see the photographs in "African Majesty." If Miss Murray were to say, 'in the following areas,' and name those areas, 'I have found that women almost invariably keep sex charms hidden,' her information would be of value. As an assertion of universal application it savours of dogma and not of science.

Again the statement that "the shell is actually a charm against the Evil Eye on account of its resemblance—when seen horizontally—to a half-closed eye, etc.," may be true of the areas where she has been, but it is not true amongst the millions of people in the Southern Nigeria where the Evil Eye is practically unheard of. Again, the Evil Eye would be the half-closed eye, but the fixed, unwinking glare of a god, or statue.

Sir Grafton Elliot Smith in 1917 wrote: "Cowries, from their resemblance to semi-closed eyelids, were often inserted into the orbits of mummies to represent eyes . . . these shells are commonly used for games of chance, as well as for averting the Evil Eye" (in J. W. Jackson, *Shells as Evidence of the Migration of Early Cultures*, 1917, p. xix). However, by 1919 he had cleared up the fundamental meaning of the word 'cowry' and of the use of cowrie shell, namely, that owing to its resemblance to the female genitalia it was a fertility charm. This in *The Evolution of the Dragon* (London, 1919, p. 216-221, he wrote:—"Throughout the Eastern Mediterranean the pig was also identified with the Great Mother. . . . Now the cowry shell was called *χοῖρος* (*choiros*) by the Greeks. The pig, in fact, was identified both with the Great Mother and the shell; and it is clear from what has already been said in these pages that the reason for this strange homology was the fact that originally the Great Mother was nothing more than the cowry shell. . . . I have discussed the pig at this length because the use of the words *χοῖρος* by the Greeks, and *porcus* and *porculus* by the Romans, for this shell, reveals the fact that the terms had the double significance 'pig' and 'cowry shell.' As it is manifestly impossible to derive the word 'cowry' from the Greek word for 'pig' the only explanation that will stand examination is that the two meanings must have been acquired from the identification of both the cowry and the pig with the Great Mother and the female reproductive organs."

It may be, as Miss Murray says, "there appears to be a certain amount of misapprehension as to the meaning of cowry shell," but the meaning that it refers to 'fertility' is amply supported by evidence, whereas that for 'the evil eye' is sadly to seek. In fact, Sir Grafton Elliot Smith hints at the only evidence available—the use of the same "objects (cowries) to symbolize the female reproductive organs and the eyes may have played some part in transforming to the latter the fertility of the former."

M. D. W. JEFFREYS, Ph.D., London.  
Bamenda, British Cameroons.

#### Egyptian Fertility Rite. (Cf. MAN, 1939, 181; 1940, 45.)

**80** SIR,—I have just happened to see Mr. Gwyn Griffiths' letter on a modern Egyptian fertility rite (MAN, 1939, 181). For a close parallel outside Egypt to this stepping over a mummy or a corpse in the hope of receiving additional life, I would refer him to my *Report on the Census of India* (1931), I, i, India, p. 403.

In MAN, 1940, 45, Mr. J. M. Dutta mentions two superstitions of the Muslims of Twenty-four Parganas about the 'chameleon' (presumably *Lacerta cristata*) and the spider. Closely analogous stories are told by the Sema Naga of the 'giant woodlouse' and the spider (cf. *The Sema Nagas*, p. 259). The sand-lizard is killed by male (but not by female) Sema, on the ground that it calls the attention of evil spirits to the birth of male children (*ib.* 237).

J. H. HUTTON.

#### The Nokrom System of the Garos of Assam.

81

(Cf. MAN, 1939, 167.)  
 SIR.—Mr. R. R. Mukherji of the Indian Museum, alleges that in MAN, 1936, 54, on "The Nokrom System of the Garos of Assam," I have embodied without acknowledgment certain extracts from *The Garos* by Major A. Playfair.

One of these 'unacknowledged' extracts refers to the translation of two Garo words *Jik-mamung* and *Jik-mongma*. *Jik* means wife and *mamung* means 'principal,' 'chief,' or 'head,' and *mongma* means 'elephant.' Of course I could exercise some choice in translating *Jik-mamung*, though 'principal' is the most suitable term here. The synonyms 'head' and 'chief' have certain implications which are not connoted by the Garo word *mamung*. Under these circumstances I had to use the same term which my predecessor also had to use, perhaps under the same necessity. I would request Mr. Mukherji to express the idea "... the 'first name means ... and the second ...' in a different way with equal simplicity. Mr. Mukherji also refers to linguistic similarities between my article and Playfair's book, but unfortunately has not given any concrete instance.

I am aware that Playfair has described the Nokrom system in his section on inheritance, although in the section on marriage there is only a casual mention of it without any details, and it had been my intention to acknowledge this in a subsequent paper on Garo inheritance. If Mr. Mukherji had spoken to me (since we meet quite frequently) I could have explained the position.

Calcutta University.

J. K. BOSE.

#### Snake-Vessels of the Gold Coast. (Illustrations. Cf. MAN, 1940, 59.)

82 The two drawings of an earthenware vessel in the museum of Achimota College, Gold Coast, described by Mrs. Eva L. R. Meyerowitz in MAN, 1940, 59, were omitted by an oversight, for which the editor expresses his regret. The native names of the animals represented on the vessels are as follows:—

1. Rainbow-snake, *Aydokodo*.
- 2-5. Snakes ascending the sides of the vessel.
2. *Liuvui*, a principal god worshipped at Whydah, Dahomey.
3. (*F*)*Li*, the protecting fetish of the town of Whydah.
4. *Fa*, the 'messenger of the gods.'
5. *Danh-gobi*, the great life-giving snake-worshipped at Whydah.
6. Three chameleons, *Lisa*, representing *Lisa*, the sun.
7. Frog, *So-evi*, representing the god of thunder and lightning, *Khebiosso*, and his double-axe, *So-fia*.
8. The double axe, *So-fia*.
9. Tortoise, *Eklo*, which brought to the Ewe country 'the fire that burns the roots of trees and kills them.'
10. Snail-shell, *Abobo*, used as a watering place for live snakes.
11. Six spouts, also watering places for live snakes.

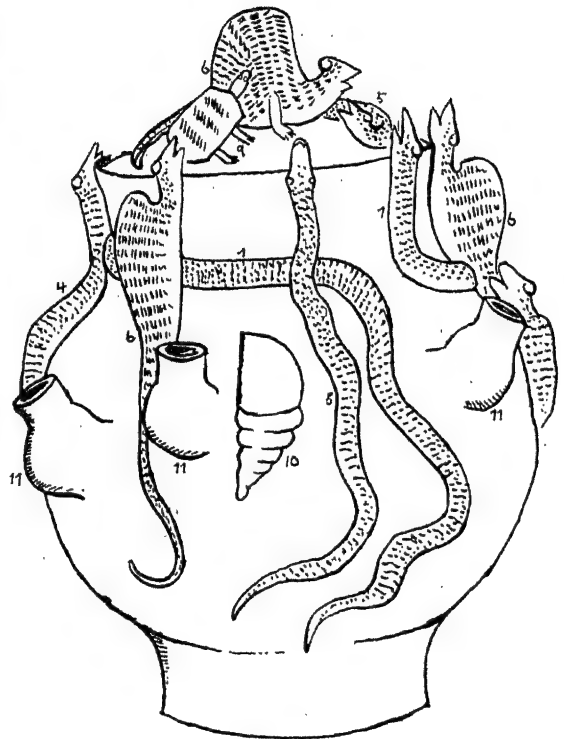


FIG. 1.

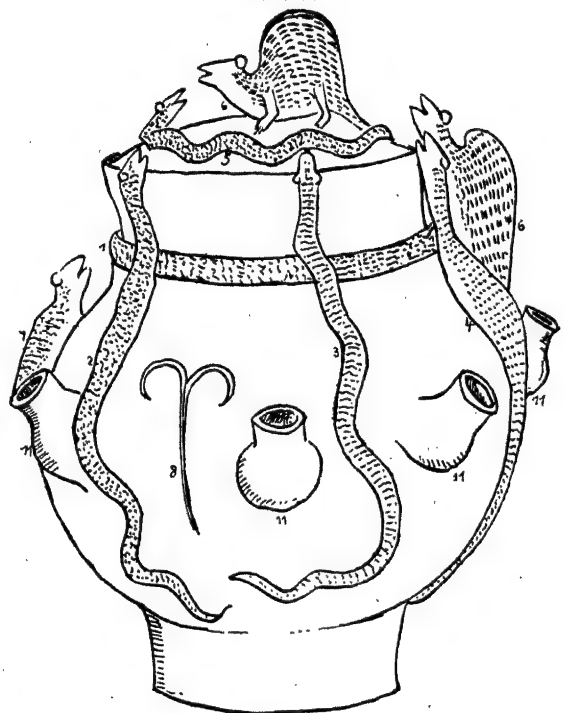


FIG. 2.

FIGS. 1-2. SNAKE-VESSEL OF EARTHENWARE, IN THE MUSEUM OF ACHIMOTA COLLEGE, GOLD COAST.





1. MANDORI: STONE B: GENERAL VIEW FROM THE SOUTH-WEST



2. MANDORI: STONE C: GENERAL VIEW FROM THE SOUTH-WEST

**UNCUT STONES WITH ANCIENT ENGRAVINGS ON THE RIGHT BRANCH  
OF THE RIVER INDUS AT MANDORI, NEAR ATTOCK**

*Compare the general view, figure 3 in the text.*

# MAN

## A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE  
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

XL, 83-104

MAY, 1940

### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

With Plate E.

**ROCK DRAWINGS ON THE INDUS.** *By Cuthbert King, I.C.S.*

**83** From the autumn of 1930 for two and a half years I was Deputy Commissioner of Attock, the most northern district of the Punjab Province. My district was separated from the North West Frontier Province by the River Indus for several miles above and below the Attock Bridge.

I had been studying the Kharoshti inscriptions in M. Sten Konow's volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, and seeing that my district apparently lay within the area where such inscriptions were likely to be found, I began to make inquiries for them.

In the autumn of 1931 I heard from M. Abdul Karim, then Head Boatman of the Indus Ferries at Attock, that there were rocks on the bank of the Indus some three miles below the Attock Bridge, which had some strange signs on them, rather like pictures.

At my request he took me in a boat to the site, and there on the N.W.F.P. bank of the River, within the boundaries of a village called Darwaza ('door' or 'gateway'), I made my first discovery of the Rock Chippings (*Halristningar*) which are the subject of this note.

Very shortly afterwards I reported my discovery to Sir John Marshall, then Director-General of Archaeology in India, who was living at Taxila just over the southern border of my district, and he very kindly sent me some officers of his Department to take photos and rubbings of the inscriptions. My wife and I conducted them to the site, and figure 3, taken then, shows the rocks and the draughtsman taking a rubbing.



FIG. 3. GROUP OF LARGE STONES LYING ON THE RIGHT BANK OF THE RIVER INDUS, AT MANDORI, FOUR MILES DOWNSTREAM FROM ATTOCK: GENERAL VIEW FROM THE SOUTH.

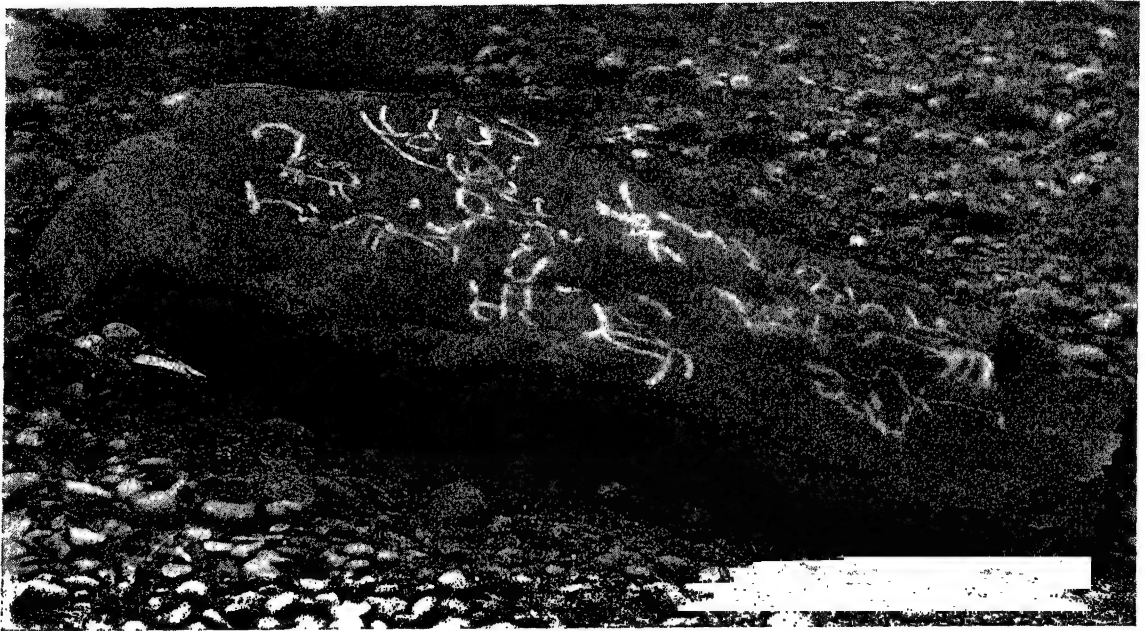


FIG. 4. UNCUT STONES WITH ANCIENT ENGRAVINGS:  $\frac{1}{2}$  MILE FROM THE JUNCTION OF INDUS AND HARO RIVERS :  $4\frac{1}{2}$  MILES FROM CAMPBELLPUR ON THE RIGHT OF THE ROAD TO KOHAT. THERE ARE THREE OTHERS WITHIN A RADIUS OF  $\frac{1}{2}$  MILE.

This photograph shows the nature of the site, where the Indus, after passing for some six miles through a narrow gorge, broadens out to a comparatively shallow reach between sloping sandy banks. At times of flood, and generally throughout the summer months, when the snow is melting in the Himalayas, these rocks are wholly or partially submerged. The other two photographs (Plate E. 1, 2) were also taken by the archaeological officer at this time, and give a

good general view of the chippings on the two stones which lie just below the main block. The stones are black basalt, which is general for several miles above this point on the Indus bank, and the pictures and marks are pocked into the stone almost always on a smooth surface, but apparently not artificially prepared.

Fig. 2 shows a turtle-shaped rock covered with pictures of great interest, but I greatly regret that I was never able to get another photo



FIG. 5. UNCUT STONE WITH ANCIENT ENGRAVINGS,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  MILES FROM CAMPBELLPUR ON THE LEFT OF THE ROAD TO KOHAT: NEAR FIG. 4.



FIG. 6. UNCUT STONE WITH ANCIENT ENGRAVINGS,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  MILES FROM CAMPBELLPUR ON THE RIGHT OF THE ROAD TO KOHAT: NEAR FIG. 4.



of this rock, as on all my subsequent visits I found it submerged.

I was told by Abdul Karim, who was then some seventy years old and who has since died, that his father had told him that these three pieces of rock were originally one, and that the original rock had been broken by lightning some seventy years ago. This may be true, as all the three rocks show signs of violent fracture, and the technique and subject-matter of the chippings on all three of them appear to be uniform in every way.

During my stay in Attock I visited the site several times. In the spring of 1934 I was appointed Deputy Commissioner of Rawalpindi, a post which I held for three years, and from April 1937 to March 1938 I officiated as Commissioner of Rawalpindi Division. During the whole of this period I paid visits to the site every cold weather, with friends who were expert amateur photographers, and they took for me a series of close-up photographs of the inscriptions. In the course of these repeated visits I found numerous other stones within a distance of 300 yards upstream on the same bank with similar chippings.

Photographs of these markings, taken for me by Mr. Hopkinson, I.C.S., Mr. Ian Boyd, R.E. and Mr. Blaker of the Royal Signal Corps, are shown. One remarkable feature of these is the resemblance of some of the markings to Chinese characters. I have not however been able to identify any of them as such. It may be remarked however that these characters also resemble the stylized trees of the Swedish and Spanish rock carvings of the Bronze Ages. Some of these rocks are at a considerable distance (some 200 yards) from the normal bed of the Indus River, and close to the village.

I regret that on my last visit in January of this year (1938) I found all of these smaller stones had been buried under some 12 feet of boulders and sand by a recent flood. I should mention that the river frequently rises between 25 and 30 feet and the consequent intermittent exposure of these rock carvings to water action has caused the markings to be more or less obliterated. In some cases they can only just be felt by the tips of the fingers, but originally they appear to have been pocked about  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch deep.

The breadth of the outlines varies considerably, but I should say (from memory) that the average breadth is about  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch to  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch.

All these photographs have been taken after marking the incised surfaces with white black-board chalk. This work naturally requires great care to avoid bringing out accidental or natural markings, but I have erred rather on the side of omission of real (though faint) markings.

About three years after my first discovery, Mr. Eustace of the I.C.S. who succeeded me as Deputy Commissioner of Attock, brought to my notice a series of similar chippings on rocks near the Haro river, about a mile above its junction with the Indus, which is about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles below the site where the first cuttings were found. Photographs of these stones (Figs. 4, 5, 6) were taken in June 1937.

Finally in January 1938 I found some stones in the bed of the Indus a few hundred yards above its confluence with the Haro, also on the N.W.F.P. side of the stream. Photographs of these stones were taken for me by Lt.-Col. Winter, R.A.M.C., one of which is reproduced in Fig. 7. These photos were taken with considerable difficulty, as the Indus was deep and swift here, and the boat had to be manœuvred alongside, and held by the watermen with a rope from the rock. The markings are slightly different from the ones at Darwaza, but the technique is apparently the same, and the rock is again black basalt.

Sir John Marshall considers that these markings



FIG. 7. UNCUT STONE WITH ANCIENT ENGRAVINGS, IN THE BED OF THE INDUS ABOVE ITS CONFLUENCE WITH THE HARO.



FIG. 8. FROM SAME SITE AS FIG. 7.

are of the late historic period. His successor, Mr. Daya Ram Sahni, points out that they are very similar to many rock-drawings of the mediæval period in these parts of India.

It is possible that some of them were designed

to commemorate particular events; Fig. 8 may represent a treaty between two chiefs concerning fishing rights on the Indus.

The triangular object in Fig. 9 appears to me to be a boat or pontoon which is being drawn overland by a yoke of oxen. If this is so, there are remarkable ritualistic parallels in Sweden, and also, as Mr. Miles Burkitt has pointed out to me, in the Iberian cave-drawings. [Is it not rather a cart seen from above.—Ed.] The occurrence of the solar wheel is also noteworthy. The object of this note however is not to suggest theories, but to give to experts a rough idea of the facts, and to solicit their assistance in a more scientific examination.



FIG. 9. FROM SAME SITE AS FIG. 7.

#### THE VADASTRA CULTURE OF THE LOWER DANUBIAN AREA: SOME COMMENTS. *By James H. Gaul, Harvard University. Illustrated.*

**84** Christescu in 1932<sup>1</sup> published a ceramic series from 'Măgura Fetelor,' near Vădastra in Wallachia, which are typical of several other sites on the Rumanian side of the Danube. Recently the Narodni Muzei, Sofia, kindly allowed me to have photographs taken of similar wares found at Čakmak-Tepe, near Gorna Monastirica, in north Bulgaria,<sup>2</sup> originally published by Mikov as line-drawings.<sup>3</sup>

These sherds (figs. 1-23) are from hand-made vessels. Sherds 1-4, 11, 14, are of grit-tempered clay, dark-grey in colour. The others have

vegetal temper, the colour of the paste varying from black to red. The exterior surface of the sherds varies in colour from black to red-brown, and is usually highly burnished. The interior, of similar tones as the outside, is relatively less burnished.

The decoration of the sherds is characterized by deep incisions with a resultant pattern of 'raised' rectilinear or curvilinear lines. Straight lines, zigzags, meanders and spirals are common motifs. Some sherds had parts of the burnished surface removed, leaving a 'sunken' field, which was cross-hatched. The incised or excised areas

<sup>1</sup> For footnotes see p. 72 at end of article.

originally were filled with white chalky paste, still visible in fig. 11.

Two other sherds were collected; one an inturned rim of a bowl with vertical ripples on the shoulder exterior, the other the outcurved rim of a small, dark-brown, burnished, Gumelnitza type bowl with vertical groove-cuts on the lower exterior of the body.

Two clay figurines were also recovered. One (fig. 19) is a grey-brown female torso, with raised breasts and rough, incised ornamentation, forming a panel on the dorsal side. Such 'panel-back' figurines frequently occur at eastern European neolithic sites. The second figurine is of red-brown clay, with double finger-pinchings on one side, the upper pair pitted, a mouth-line of three pits, and a circumferential band of double pits enclosing the face.

A typical Gumelnitza bone figurine was also found (fig. 18); it has pit-eyes, incised lines denoting facial features, and 'clothes' or decorative details. Similar 'wasp-abdomen' figurines (as distinct from flat-based and split-legged) have been collected at Bulgaria<sup>4</sup> at Gniliane near Sofia, Tell Rašev, and Sultan.

Three fragments of stone celts were discovered, one a part of a widebitted shoelast variant, the second a half-drilled (hollow drill) small adze, and the third the bitt-end of a perforated axe.

The group of sherds is identical with Christescu's series from 'Măgura Fetelor' (figs. 4-24). The 'Măgura Fetelor' site, probably a settlement mound and not a necropolis as described (*l.c.*, p. 167) was dug to a depth of 4.20 m. (*i.e.*, to virgin soil), but no stratigraphy is said to have been observed.<sup>5</sup> From Christescu's text, however, some observations may be made and certain deductions drawn.

Bowls with an incurved rim (Christescu, *l.c.*, fig. 3/1 and 36/12) occurred only to two metres (*l.c.*, p. 169 and p. 186) from datum line. Plain ware sherds with profiled rims (*l.c.*, fig. 36/7, 8, 13; fig. 38/4) occurred only to a depth of 2.50 m. (*l.c.*, p. 187); tubular cord-handles also persisted to that depth. "*Vers 2 m. de profondeur*" (*l.c.*, p. 189), also were small, fine, black, biconical bowls with a sharply inturned rim (*l.c.*, fig. 39/8). The coarse-ware cup with an over-reaching handle (Christescu, *l.c.*, p. 192, fig. 32/5: 41/4) was found at 2 m. A miniature cup with oblique mouth (Christescu, p. 192, fig. 44/21) occurred at 0.80 m. Handled jugs and those with lugs likewise came

from above 2 m. (*l.c.*, p. 170). All of Christescu's Group III is said to have been found "*vers 2 m. de profondeur*" (*l.c.*, p. 194). This group includes a spheroid jug with a straight, outset rim and incised decoration (Christescu, fig. 27); an open-mouthed bowl with a notched rim and incised decoration (Christescu, fig. 20, 2), and squat jugs with band handles, a few bearing cord-impressed designs (Christescu, p. 194, fig. 27, 3-4).

Group I, the incised-excised ware, appeared predominantly from 2 m. to 4 m. "*Les tessons commencent—à partir de 2 m. de profondeur —à apparaître dans les quantités de plus en plus grandes*" (*l.c.*, p. 170). One vessel is cited as having been discovered in pieces "*entre 2 et 3.50 m.*" (*l.c.*, p. 182); one was at 4 m. (*l.c.*, p. 185); another at 3.20 m. (*l.c.*, p. 185).

If an inference is to be drawn from the stated citations, it would seem that the upper level of Măgura Fetelor, from the surface to a depth of *ca* 2 m., displayed a pottery change<sup>6</sup> in contrast to the lower level, in which occurred the typical 'Vadastra Culture' incised-excised ware, thus indicating a significant cultural difference and a later date. In architecture, "*à partir de 2 m. la situation change un peu*" (*l.c.*, p. 170). Bowls with an incurved rim, bowls with an outcurved rim (to which a rod-handle might be added to make the handled jugs), cups with an overreaching handle, globular jugs with incised decoration, and cord-marked ware, all found in the upper level, make a sufficiently impressive list to justify this deduction.

To the lower level (or possibly the upper found at 2.50 m. (*l.c.*, p. 191)) should belong the plain, open bowls (*l.c.*, fig. 31/1, 2) which may be considered as 'drab' ware in comparison to the gaudier excised pots. If really found at that depth, it is difficult to believe them to belong to "an older, not yet defined culture."<sup>7</sup>

The date of the Vadastra culture is difficult to ascertain. Copper fragments were found at a depth of 3 m. in Măgura Fetelor (Christescu, p. 203), and copper objects frequently occur in Gumelnitza sites, but only rarely in those of Boian A. The clay 'panel-back' figurine from Čakmak-Tepe is identical with two specimens from Vadastra (*l.c.*, fig. 43/4, 5; No. 5 was found at 4.20 m.). The bone figurine from Čakmak-Tepe is typical of the Gumelnitza culture, as is the rim sherd of the fine ware.

However, rippled sherds in the Vadastra

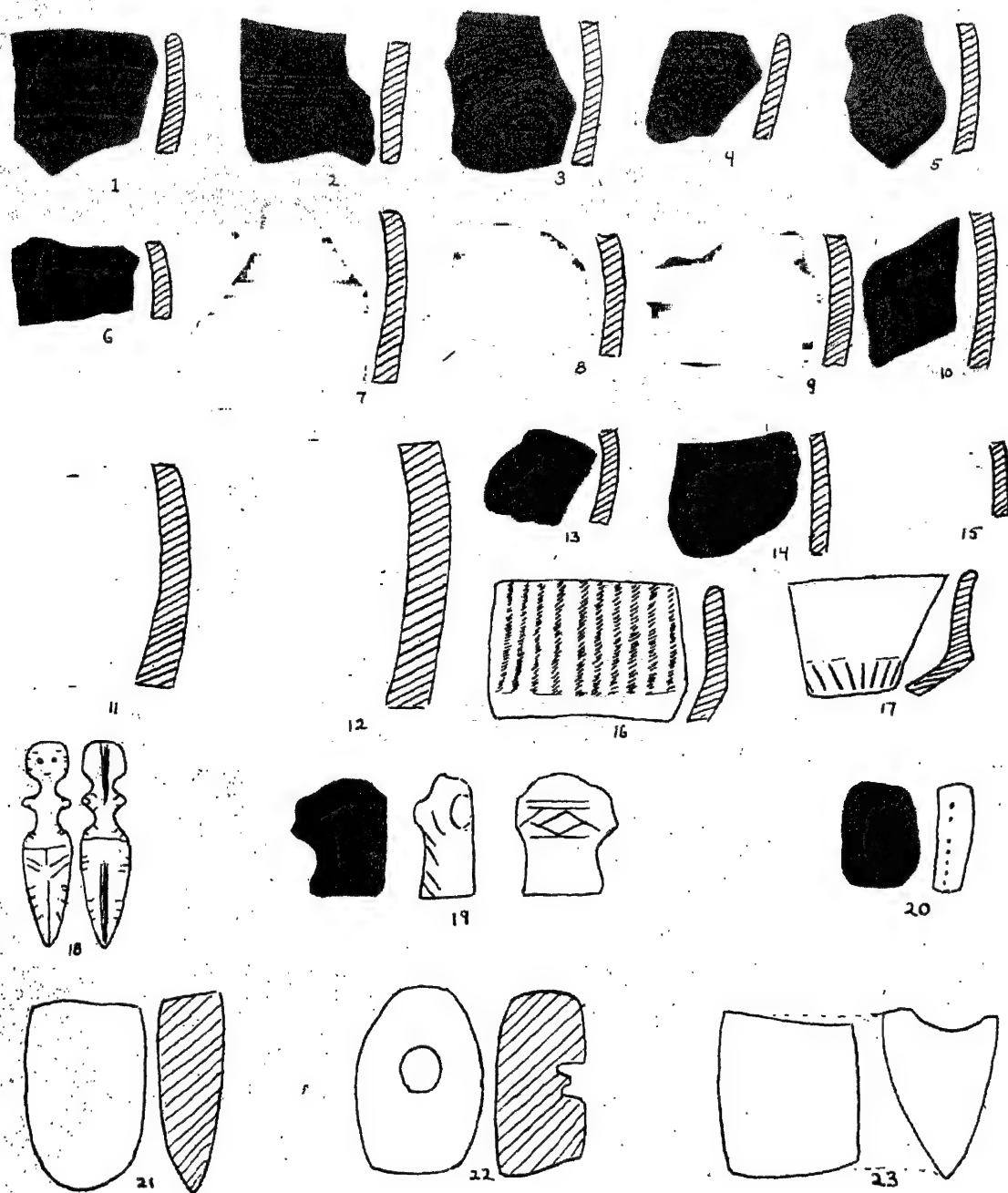


FIG. 1. HAND-MADE SHERDS FROM ČAKMAK-TEPE NEAR GORNA MONASTIRICA IN NORTH BULGARIA.

development may be related to similar occurrences in Boian A material on the one hand, and to those of the middle levels at Vinča on the other. Nestor described the Vadastra culture as a "developed phase, run-wild, of Boian A."<sup>8</sup> Vadastra sherds were found preceding Glina III

ware at Corabia, and "ad Dadovicesti the Glina III level directly overlay a Vadastra stratum, so that the Vadastra culture is to be paralleled with Gumelnitza A" (Nestor, *l.c.*, footnote 103). In 1933, Nestor (22 *Bericht*, p. 56) equated these two cultures.

If the Vadastra phase corresponds to Gumelnitza, then the upper level ('A') should stratigraphically equal the Glina III-Schneckenberg manifestation. Cord-impressed sherds<sup>9</sup> and over-looped handles are common to both phases, and should equate them stylistically.

Beyond the lower Danube drainage area affinities with the Vadastra ('B') culture are hard to find. Those with Butmir are more apparent than real. However, the incised ware from Phthiotic Thebes (Wace and Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, 1912; fig. 113), which occurred above a Dimini stratum, is strikingly similar. This correspondence may afford a cross-check for dating. It is demonstrable that the Gumelnitza phases had relations with the Early Helladic development, although the pertinent chronological aspects remain obscure. If the 'Vadastra B' culture is equated with Gumelnitza, then temporally the resemblance to the Thebes sherds would be explicable, although still vague. The 'Vadastra A' corded sherds thus *might* be correlated with the Early Helladic III corded sherds at Eutresis, which is permissible temporally, for the Eutresis sherds were "not all in well-stratified areas, but one at least belongs to the end of E.H. III" (Goldman, H.: *Excavations at Eutresis*, p. 123).

As intervening links for a 'corded' migration might be mentioned, in addition to the evidence accumulated by Fuchs<sup>10</sup> for a 'Nordic' invasion, a newly discovered cord-impressed vessel (now in the Prince Paul Museum in Belgrade) of the late neolithic Srpski-Krstur phase on the Yugoslavian Tisa, two cord-impressed sherds in the Niš museum, and a cord-marked sherd, remarkably like those from Eutresis, from Brešovo in the Maritza drainage-basin in central Bulgaria. In Bulgaria stray battle-axes are abundant.<sup>11</sup> From Macedonia might be added the debatable 'corded' sherds from Hagios Mamos and Kritsana,<sup>12</sup> and the battle-axe fragments of the Early Bronze Age.

These additional finds might strengthen the theory of a 'corded invasion' into Greece, but certainly weaken a Nordic origin in favour of an

Eastern one.<sup>13</sup> However, the fact remains that no closed 'corded' discoveries have been made in south-eastern Europe, *i.e.*, in the Balkans cord-impressed vessels or sherds have not been recovered in association with battle-axes (with the possible exception of Hágias Mámas in Macedonia: Heurtley, pp. 83, 86): Childe (MAN, 1931, 135) believes the ridged Hágias Mámas battle-axe to show definite relations with the Middle Kuban period type of the Caucasus). The occurrence of stray battle-axes in this extended Aegean region (the Balkans) is, of course, no necessary sign of a 'corded' migration.<sup>14</sup>

As a counter-claim to Kossinna's theory of the Nordic origin of the Battle-axe Folk,<sup>15</sup> with their correlative Indo-European speech, is the Pontic primary focus lucidly championed by Childe (*The Aryans*, London, 1926); in 1936 Childe only affirmed the language-culture correlation with an "if" (*Die Indogermanen*, p. 530); it still remains for him a theory in 1939. But transcending theory are Persson's assumptions concerning Asine and Hellas and the first Indo-European or 'Greek' migration into Greece (Frödin, O., and Persson, A. W., *Asine* (Stockholm), 1938, p. 433). He writes:—"At the beginning of the Middle Helladic period (circa 2000 B.C.), there occurs a break in the development which can only be explained by assuming a fresh element of people on the Greek mainland . . . One may be justified in assuming in the immigrants to see the first Indo-Europeans . . . (who) . . . came very likely from the Upper Balkans . . . In favour of the connection between the M.H. culture and the culture of the northern Balkans speak the similarities in the funeral habits, viz. contracted position, pottery, axes perforated for a haft, the use of stag-horn for hafts . . . and as picks, further clay seals." Where the 'Upper Balkans' are located is not stated, nor are the 'northern Balkans' similarities documented. However, Heurtley's *Prehistoric Macedonia* implicitly refutes these connexions by showing Macedonia's prehistoric cultures,—which occur in an intervening area,—to have primary Aegean-Anatolian relationships, save for Neolithic II and Late Bronze Age-Lausitz northern affiliations. Explicitly, contracted burials occur in Early Helladic times in 20 graves at Hagios Kosmas near Athens (Mylonas, G.,

A.J.A. 38 (1934), pp. 258-79). For the pottery in question (grooved burnished ware) Persson finds analogies only in the distant Austrian Mondsee pile-dwelling culture (Persson, p. 262) though comparable wares occur at least as near as lower Macedonia, in the Early Bronze Age (Heurtley, pp. 167-197); stag-horn hafts and picks are common Thessalian Neolithic traits (Wace and Thompson, *l.c.*, pp. 42, 72, 84, 125, 169). The 'clay seals' are one clay seal of cylindric shape, which has, according to Persson (*l.c.*, p. 239 and fig. 172, 9), its nearest comparisons admittedly at Troy, Bos-hüyük, and the Early Hittite levels at Alishar. Because the Troy seals are of clay, and because their decoration is linear, Matz (*Die frühkretischen Siegel*, Berlin, 1928) is quoted as considering them to "show northern influence." Persson indeed ends thus: "this seal of Balkan type found at Asine, with exact counterparts in the II-V strata at Troy, is of importance as a contribution to our understanding of the first 'Aryan immigration.'"

But Persson can find specific analogies for this seal only in West Anatolia. In the Balkans (Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Macedonia) such a form has not been found. 'Pintaderas' or stamp seals occur frequently up through Danubia as far as Bohemia,<sup>16</sup> as clay copies of Asiatic stone seals.<sup>17</sup> Summarily, the Balkan ancestry of Persson's seal is doubtful, and the first Aryan immigration into Greece cannot be safely suspended to such a suspicious object.

Each of Persson's postulated 'Aryan' traits becomes relatively invalid upon re-examination. It is unfortunate that his conclusions have been reiterated and apparently partly accepted in at least one recent general book on prehistory (Childe, *op. cit.*, p. 72). Yet it is believed to be here demonstrated that the postulates cannot be documented.

Evidence is, however, slowly accumulating of the presence of cord-impressed pottery and battle-axes in the Balkans (Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Macedonia) which may point to a 'corded' invasion of Greece from South Russia. Thus a restatement of theory might entail:—(1) the association of Indo-European-speakers with battle-axes and corded ware; (2) the invasion of these peoples through Bulgaria and Yugoslavia in time to leave corded-ware<sup>18</sup> and/or battle-axes in Macedonia and in Early Helladic III at Eutresis; (3) the sudden appearance of battle-

axes and (even more important) of drilled axe-cores (indicating manufacture of tools and weapons *in loco*) at Middle Helladic Asine<sup>19</sup>; (4) the general conflagration occurring at the end of Early Helladic times in Hellas (Frödin and Persson, p. 433); the close association of Greek place-names and M.H. sites (Haleys and Blegen, "The Coming of the Greeks," A.J.A. 32, 1928, pp. 141-154). Such a theory is attractive, if unproven. And if the postulated incursion into Greece from Pontica did occur, then the upper level at Vadastra may mark a way-station.

<sup>1</sup> Christescu, V.: "Les stations préhistoriques de 'Vădastra,'" *Dacia*, III-IV, 1932, pp. 167-225.

<sup>2</sup> I wish to thank Dr. I. Velkov and Mr. V. Mikov for permission to republish these photographs.

<sup>3</sup> Mikov, V. *Izvestija Bulg. Arh. Inst.*, VIII, pp. 363-65.

<sup>4</sup> Mikov, V. *Izv. Bulg. Arh. Inst.*, VIII, pp. 183-214.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Christescu, *l.c.*, p. 173: "Ne pouvant pas distinguer stratigraphiquement les différents groupes de vases."

<sup>6</sup> Christescu's comments on his vertical section are confusing. On p. 169: "Jusqu'à 2 m. de profondeur, 'la terre ne renfermait que des fragments céramiques de la catégorie suivante; . . . patinée et à décors spiralo-meandriques incisés ou excisés.'" On p. 170: "L'inventaire céramique est très riche entre 2-3-50 m. . . . A 4-20 m. apparaît la terre glaise . . . Les vases à décor par incisions profondes ou excisions, apparaissent jusqu'à la dernière profondeur." So that "jusqu'à 2 m. de profondeur" on p. 169 must mean from the bottom upwards.

<sup>7</sup> Nestor, I.: 22 *Bericht Röm.-Germ. Komm.*, p. 57. The plain war pot-stand illustrated in a plate of the Vadastra culture (Plate V 4) Nestor designates as of the Gumelnitza culture (p. 57). It does not come from Măgura Fetelor, but from a different site, Măgura Cetate, near the same (Vadastra) village, which Christescu describes as being of the Sultana aspect of the Gumelnitza culture (p. 224).

<sup>8</sup> Nestor. "Zur Chronologie d. rumanischischen Steinkupferzeit," *Praeh. Z.*, 19.

<sup>9</sup> In the Schneckenberg culture (not in Glină III), represented at six sites. Schröller, H.: *Die Stein und Kupferzeit Siebenburgens*, p. 64.

<sup>10</sup> Fuchs, S.: *Die griechischen Fundgruppen der frühen Bronzezeit*, Berlin, 1937. But for a stringent review of Fuchs' thesis, cf. Bittel, *Germania*, 1939, pp. 59-64.

<sup>11</sup> Mikov, V.: *Predistoriceski Selista i Nahodki v Bulgarija*. Sofia 1933, pp. 35-50.

<sup>12</sup> Heurtley, W. A. *Prehistoric Macedonia*, 1939, p. 83 and fig. 46A.

<sup>13</sup> As do Childe's reasoned arguments on chronological grounds in *Die Indogermanen- und Germanen Frage*, (Leipzig) 1936, pp. 516-530.

<sup>14</sup> Six were found in the Early Bronze Age levels at Thermi. Cf. Lamb, W., *Excavations at Thermi*, 1936 p. 182, and Childe, *J.H.S.*, LVII, p. 84-6.



<sup>15</sup> Kossinna, "Die Ursprung der Urfinnen und "Urindogermanen," *Mannus*, I, II, and *Die Indogermanen*, Würzburg, 1921.

<sup>16</sup> Childe, V. G., *The Danube in Prehistory*, pp. 79, 93, 103, 290, 351, 414; Matz, *l.c.*, pp. 235-45.

<sup>17</sup> Childe, *Dawn of Civilization*, 1939, pp. 59, 81, 88.

But Heurtley, *P.M.*, p. 116, holds for a Danubian source.

<sup>18</sup> The specific amphora-form used as a trait by Fuchs, has been shown by Bittel to be Aegean. *Germania*, XXIII, p. 62.

<sup>19</sup> Frödin and Persson, *op. cit.*, p. 247. Battle-axes likewise are not pre-M.H. at Eutresis. Goldman, *op. cit.*, p. 206 ff.

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

Special Meeting held at Cambridge: 24 February, 1940.

**85** The Special Meeting of the Institute, held at Cambridge on 24 February, was no less conspicuously successful than the first in this new series, which took place at Oxford on 2 December, 1939 (*MAN*, 1940, 3-9), and the very high attendance of members and guests at both meetings renders virtually certain the retention of the innovation, originally a wartime measure, as a permanent addition to the annual programme of the Institute. Among the first of the learned societies to resume normal activities after the outbreak of war, the Institute has so far been able to maintain a full programme of fortnightly lecture-meetings in London, and it is hoped that continued support of these will enable it to provide a forum for the expression of new views and the exposition of new material, as long as meetings in London are permitted by circumstances beyond our control; it is with all the greater pleasure therefore that the popularity and success which have attended the extension of the Institute's activities to the University centres outside London can be recorded.

The Institute is greatly indebted for the efficiency of the arrangements to Prof. Hutton, to Mr. Driberg of the School of Archaeology and Anthropology, and to Mr. Paterson, Curator of the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, where the meeting was held. It consisted of 5 papers, each of about half-an-hour's duration, followed by a short period of discussion; the subjects covered included primitive economic and political systems, dietetics, culture-contact, and archaeology. The meeting began at 11.30 a.m. with two papers before lunch (which was provided at St. Catherine's College), and the afternoon session was brought to an end at 5 p.m., when members and visitors were the guests for tea of the School and the Museum. Not the least interesting contribution to the success of the meeting was the series of special exhibitions arranged in the main hall of the Museum, most of whose collections have been removed to places of safe storage. Altogether the meeting afforded an excellent opportunity to Fellows and others to become better acquainted with the activities of the Cambridge School, and this contribution to the maintenance of touch between the Institute and the Universities must be regarded as one of the most hopeful functions of the series so happily initiated.

Summaries of the papers are appended in the order in which they were read.

The Economic Organization of the Bhotiya. By Nabendu Datta-Majumder, M.A., B.L.

**86** The Bhotiya, a Mongoloid people of Tibetan origin, live in the cold and arid inter-Alpine valleys of the Kumaun Himalayas between the Great Himalayan Range and the Tibetan water-parting or the Zaskar Range. The paper read was based on literature published between 1832 and 1935.

The two predominant features in the economic life of the Bhotiya are their flocks and herds, consisting principally of yaks, *jabbu* (crosses between yaks and common hill cattle), ponies, sheep and goats, and the carrying trade they undertake between the sub-Himalayan region of Kumaun and Western Tibet. During summer months they travel to Tibet with merchandise, the most noteworthy exports being food grains, sugar, tobacco, brass, copper and iron. In the winter they take goods from Tibet to the sub-Himalayan region, the principal items being borax, salt, wool, yaks' tails, and ponies. Their chief means of transport is provided by sheep and goats.

The Bhotiya also practise agriculture, which is based mainly on terrace-cultivation with a simple hoe. Their dress consists of home-manufactured woollen stuffs, the industries of spinning and of weaving wool being confined to men and women respectively. They are well acquainted with the use of metals and build permanent houses of stone and wood. It is possible to place them under the heading of Pastoral or Higher Pastoralists in the classification of primitive peoples adopted by Hobhouse, Wheeler, and Ginsberg.

The Political System of the Anuak. By Dr. E. E. Evans-Pritchard.

**87** The village organization of Anuakland was described and it was explained that in part of the country each village is under a headman, while in the rest of the country villages are ruled by nobles. One of these nobles possesses certain emblems which give him royal status. The history of the Royal House is the history of the circulation of these emblems among the nobles. Inter-village relations, mode of succession to the kingship and rank, have changed from one period of Anuak history to another.

Diet and Race. By L. F. Newman, M.A., F.I.C.

**88** The paper stressed the importance of critical work on the physiology of food and dietetics as a factor in the development and culture of man.

Anthropologists had worked on the anatomy of the skull, Duckworth and others had shown

the value of information obtained from the skeleton, but little or no attention had been paid to the part played by nutrition in human progress. The physiology of sex was often over-emphasized but dietetics were equally important. A great deal of information on food and agriculture in the past could be obtained from epic and folk-story. The seeds of the prosperity of the Isle of Britain dropped by the sow Henwen afforded a statistical record which could not be improved by modern methods. The meals of Achilles before Troy were another example, and the introduction of new foodstuffs or crops was an important factor in culture.

The paper dealt with the suggestion of Armitage that salt consumption was connected with body pigment and colour and the type of diet available. Salt was a most important food constituent and the one for which there was a conscious craving. Bunge and other biochemists had shown that the sodium percentage in vegetable foods was low and potassium high. These elements were better balanced in flesh foods and it was the herbivora who craved salt. Rice was an exception as the sodium content was good and rice eaters did not require much salt.

A selection of races was quoted and their diets and salt intake (as sodium chloride) compared with colour and accessibility to salt. A number of Indian races were considered, and their diets compared and correlated with physique, and stamina. The conclusions of McCarrison, McCoy and others were criticized.

The place of digestive stimulants in diets was discussed. Curries, faggots, pickles and other flavourings were used to relieve the monotony of insipid diets especially when conditions of life were also monotonous and artificial. The place of cannibalism in diets was of interest and an attempt was made to separate ritual from a conscious liking for human flesh, or a mere protein hunger where other forms of flesh were unobtainable. Taboo and prohibitions were often based on sound physiological and hygienic principles and the use of 'high,' decaying, or preserved foodstuffs was also discussed.

#### Aspects of Culture Contact among the Eskimo.

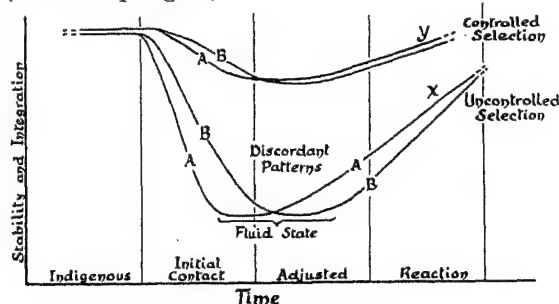
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By T. T. Paterson, M.A., B.Sc., F.R.S.E.

The Eskimo offers excellent examples for the study of culture-contact. A fairly uniform culture has been in contact with many aspects of European culture through traders, whalers, missionaries, explorers and anthropologists. The results are therefore varied, but each contact pattern by its very difference throws more light on the others. Moreover the time factor can be studied because contact has been established at separate periods, while outlying districts also offer serial examples of culture change.

A scheme was presented, necessarily in a very cursory manner, showing four sequent stages in the culture pattern of the Eskimo, particular attention being paid to social institutions (treated in the anthropological, not the sociological, sense), and the

relation of the individual to the society, including forms of group consciousness, leadership and such-like. The four patterns summarized were the (1) indigenous, (2) initial contact, (3) adjusted, and (4) reaction patterns. The results can be expressed shortly in a graphical fashion. In the accompanying figure the horizontal co-ordinate represents Time with the four pattern stages indicated. The vertical co-ordinate represents Stability of Culture Pattern, the higher the point the more adjusted and more integrated the pattern. Curves A and B represent the conditions of social and individual organization within the society respectively, and the two sets of curves represent two groups in which the selection of cultural elements has been uncontrolled (X, traders, whalers, etc.) and controlled (Y, anthropologists).



Several points emerge from this study :-

(a) With uncontrolled contact there is a rapid acceleration towards conditions of social and individual disorganization; whereas the process is much slower and not so intense with controlled contact.

(b) Social institutions react more quickly to contact than the individual. For example, tribal and political systems, territorial and group consciousness, change before economic and class complexes; whereas during controlled selection there seems to be no such dichotomy.

(c) The condition arising out of uncontrolled selection, where there is a minimum of both social and individual stability, is here termed the 'fluid state.' It is in this condition of 'degeneracy,' as it is often popularly and mistakenly called, when the society reaches a crisis, and when it may die out. No such critical fluid state was reached in either of the two known cases where selection has been controlled.

(d) As adjustment proceeds within the uncontrolled contact grouping, social and individual complexes do not keep in step. The result is a 'discordant pattern' within the adjusted society. With controlled selection there is little sign of discordance of pattern.

(e) Uncontrolled selection tends to produce a stable society more slowly than controlled.

(f) The reaction pattern shows that uncontrolled selection tends to accentuate conflict stimulating factors such as, for an example, a nationalistic group consciousness.

It is suggested that a proper estimation of such processes, and the application of the obvious principles, within the numerous contact areas of our Colonies would go far to assist the administration in establishing conditions of peace and stability, and further, the value of controlled contact, under the ægis of the anthropologist cannot be stressed too highly.

**The Archæology of the Santa Elena Peninsula, Ecuador.** By G. H. S. Bushnell, M.A., F.S.A., F.G.S.

The area, whose archæology had not previously been studied, lies on the Ecuadorian coast near its most westerly point, immediately north of the Guayas Estuary. The work, which was spread over a number of years, was done by the lecturer while he lived there. A general account of our present knowledge of Ecuadorian archæology was given first, and the differences between the Andean and coastal regions were emphasized, with the reservation that a limited area in the southern part of the Andean zone, which had not yet been properly studied, would probably prove to be related to the coast. It was pointed out that the Santa Elena

Peninsula was closely related to the Province of Manabí, which lies to the north of it, and that objects from at least two out of the three cultures established by the lecturer on the Peninsula could be recognized among Saville's undifferentiated material from Manabí. A more remote relationship between these two areas and the northern coastal province of Esmeraldas was indicated. The extent of the Inca conquest of Ecuador was briefly shown, and it was made clear that no evidence of their presence was found on the Santa Elena Peninsula.

Three cultures were found on the Peninsula, of which the oldest, the Guangala, and the latest, the Manteño were widespread, but the intermediate one, the Engoroy, was limited in distribution. They had not been found in superposition, since the sites were, in every case, underlain directly by Pleistocene deposits, but there was no doubt about their relative ages, because the Manteño had been found associated with Inca remains in Manabí by Jijon y Caamaño, and objects derived from the Guangala had been found in an Engoroy cemetery. Some outstanding features of the Guangala and the Manteño Cultures were then described, but lack of time made it necessary to omit the Engoroy.

## REVIEWS.

### AFRICA.

**Akiga's Story: The Tiv Tribe as seen by one of its members.** Translated and annotated by Rupert East, M.A., D.Litt.(Oxon), Senior Education Officer, Nigeria. Published for the Int. Inst. African Languages and Cultures by the Oxford Univ. Press, 1939. xv + 436 pp, 24 illustrations and map. Price 21s. net.

Akiga's story is not an autobiography, but a comprehensive account of the changing culture of one of the largest tribes of Northern Nigeria—formerly known as the Munshi. The book is a remarkable achievement, not merely because it is the first book to be written in Northern Nigeria by a native about his own people, but because it is written by a member of a tribe which has only been brought under effective administration within the last twenty-five years. Akiga wrote his memoirs in the Tiv language, and for the present translation we are indebted to Dr. East of the Nigerian Education Department. The translation is admirably done, and Dr. East's voluminous notes, besides being necessary to an understanding of the text, contain a vast amount of valuable information. They are a testimonial to the splendid work of the Education Department of Nigeria.

Akiga begins his book with accounts of 'the origin of the Tiv tribe and of some of the tribal customs.' There is a good deal of fiction in this section, and Akiga would derive every single Tiv institution, with the solitary exception of marriage by exchange, from some neighbouring tribe. Thus he tells us that the Tiv first obtained guinea-corn from the Chamba. But the Tiv have only been a short time in contact with the Chamba, and guinea-corn is their most honoured crop—the source of the beer used in their religious rites. On the other hand, he shows how quickly some ancient institutions can change. The old keloid tribal marks, for instance, are now being discarded in favour of an imported brand which has become a badge of the New Youth Movement.

Girls are refusing to marry men with the old marks, just as marriage by exchange is being replaced by a bride-price system.

Chapter II deals with 'the Homestead and the Farm,' and chapter III with 'Marriage and Tribal Organization.' This is perhaps the most interesting chapter in the book. Among the Tiv the principal form of social grouping is the comparatively small body of patrilineal relatives which constitutes (or used to constitute) a unit for the purpose of effecting marriages by exchange. Then there is the slightly larger group of those who carry out together certain magico-religious rites. Next there is the still larger territorial group known (rather ambiguously) as a 'kindred,' which serves as an administrative unit. Then there is the clan, and it is interesting to note that the majority of the clans have two divisions which are reputed to be 'half brothers by the same father.' The entire tribe has also a dual grouping into 'circumcised' and 'uncircumcised,' but this grouping does not serve any social function, and circumcision is, in fact, general. Dr. East suggests (p. 105) that the occurrence of female ancestors in family trees four or five generations back, indicates that the tribe was then passing from mother-right to father-right. But this does not follow. Where you have polygyny, it is quite natural and normal for one section of a social group to trace its descent from one of the wives of the reputed ancestor of the group, and another section from another of the wives.

The marriage systems of the Tiv are complicated, but Akiga explains them all with great clarity. His opinion (p. 122) that the bride-price form of marriage known as *kem* was not in itself a form of marriage at all is questionable, since it exists in numerous other tribes, side by side with the exchange system. Under the *kem* system the children belong to the mother's group, whereas under the exchange system they belong to the father's. However this may be, it is clear that marriage

by exchange was the pivotal feature of the social organization, and its sudden abolition by the Government shook the tribe to its foundations. The change meant that no man felt he had a right to the custody of his own children. It interfered with the rules of exogamy and substituted an individualistic form of marriage for the totalitarian concept of the exchange group. The change was favoured by the younger generation, but abuses could have been removed and adjustments made gradually without destroying the solidarity of the tribe.

Chapters IV and V deal with the magico-religious beliefs and practices of the people. The account given of *tsav*, that dynamic quality which enables a man to have control over his fellows, whether by witchcraft, sorcery, or what we should call mere 'force of character,' is an important contribution to the anthropology of W. Africa. But the chapter must be read with discrimination, for it is clear that Akiga, who admits that he himself acquired a reputation for *tsav* and invented tales to support this character, has been himself the victim of similar tales. Government officials, too, appear to have been led astray by stories of magical murders and cannibalistic feasts, as though they were real, and this resulted in a deplorable campaign of persecution. The authority of the elders had been based on the belief in *tsav*, and many unscrupulous elders had exploited this belief for their own ends, but it was a fatal mistake to regard all those who were credited with *tsav* as members of a dangerous secret society, when most of them were in reality pillars of authority.

Chapter VI deals with 'The Individual and The Group,' Chapter VII with 'Diseases and their Treatment,' and Chapter VIII with 'Chiefs and Administration.' In pre-Administration times the Tiv had 'drum-chiefs' or '*tor agbade*,' and this is regarded by Akiga as a strange institution. The name *tor* is derived by him from the Hausa word for bull *toro*. But the root *tor*, in the sense of Chief, is found in many parts of Africa (e.g., *to* among the Kiboma of Congo, *tolu* among the Seke-Bulu of Gaboon, *to* and *ton* among the Nki of the Cameroons and the Nde). In the Southern Provinces drum-chiefs and drum-titles are common enough. The early chiefs appointed by the British were known derisively as 'black Europeans,' and people used to ask 'What sort of a chief is this who goes round to this place, and that, trying cases in the heat of the day?' Not merely had the chiefs no indigenous authority, but their districts had no sound sociological basis. In 1934, the entire system was reconstructed on the basis of clans, fifty-five in number, each with a council. An obvious objection to the new system will be the unwieldiness of the councils, and the insufficient scope for men of ability to rise to positions of leadership or eminence.

Akiga is not sparing in his criticism of British Administration. He professes to be an ardent admirer of the past, but we suspect that he often sings to himself the song of Sidney Smith:—

"The good of ancient times let others state,

I think it lucky I was born so late."

This summary hardly does justice to the variety and excellence of Akiga's work, nor to the competence of Dr. East's running commentary. Dr. East never attempts to evade a difficulty. The Government of Nigeria are to be congratulated for making possible the publication of Akiga's work. The 'story' contains a good deal of material which is hardly fair to the Government. The International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, too, has done good service in shouldering the expense of publication. C. K. MEEK.

## Die Bambuti-Pygmäen vom Ituri. Ergebnisse zweier Forschungsreisen zu den Zentralafrikanischen Pygmäen. I. Band. Geschichte, Geographie, Umwelt, Demographie und Anthropologie der Ituri-Bambuti (Belgisch-Kongo). Mém. Inst. Roy. Colon. Belge; Sect. sci. mor. et pol.; Coll. 4<sup>e</sup> Tome 1, partie 1. By Paul Schebesta, S.V.D. Brussels: 1938, xviii + 430 pp., map 1, pls. 32 and text figures 16. Price 250 fr. belg.

This large and important volume is announced as the first dealing with the Bambuti pygmies, to be followed by a parallel series dealing with the Negritos of Asia. The two together will present the material collected by the author during his expeditions to the two continents, and they have the general title *Die Pygmäenwölker der Erde*. This project is an ambitious one, indeed.

The pygmy peoples of the world are not large communities, and they have been studied more by both physical and cultural anthropologists than many primitive groups that are much larger. The report reviewed is a notable contribution to our knowledge of one of the largest groups, to which the author had previously made a contribution of outstanding importance. The question of the origin and relationships of the pygmies has been discussed at great length, and P. W. Schmidt, to whom this volume is dedicated, has taken a prominent part in the controversy. Like many others in anthropology, it is more likely to be settled by new evidence than by further discussion of that available at present.

The first part deals with the history, geographical distribution and environment, and demography of the Bambuti people, who live in the primeval forest surrounding the River Ituri in the north-east of the Belgian Congo. It is estimated that they number about 35,000, forming about one-third of all Central African pygmies. The population is believed to be increasing slightly in spite of the high infant mortality. The second part of the volume deals with physical characters, data being given first relating to blood groups, finger prints, growth, physiological characters and pathological conditions. Head and body measurements of nearly 750 adults are discussed at greater length. It is concluded that the Bambuti is a distinct race, quite different from Negro races, which cannot be explained as having arisen owing to the degeneration of any other. At the same time it cannot be said to be entirely homogeneous: four elements are distinguished, two of which are *primär-pygmäisch*, one foreign and probably Negroid, and one European. Professor J. Matiegka provides a report on five skeletons which includes comparisons with the pygmy specimens previously described; there are only 17 skulls in all. Finally, a lengthy discussion is given of the relationships between the Bambuti and other small African peoples. The type is said to be similar to the Bushman, but the two are essentially adapted to different environments. Comparisons with the Negrito races of Asia are promised. The general conclusion stated is that the Bambuti pygmies are racially and culturally "ein Urphänomen unter den Rassen und Völkern der Erde." The fact that they are specialized is demonstrated in this volume, but it is another matter to show that they are also peculiarly primitive in a zoological sense, and this question is not discussed adequately. G. M. MORANT.

Races of Africa. By C. G. Seligman. London (Home University Library 144: Revised Edition), 1939. 256 pp. Price 2s. 6d. net.

This useful handbook, published in 1930, well deserves a revised edition. Among the recent accessions to African literature are the author's own *Pagan Tribes*

of the Nilotic Sudan; Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azandi*; Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom*; Hunter, *Reaction to Conquest*; Stayt, *The Banenda*; G. W. Murray, *Sons of Ishmael*; Shapero, *The Bantu-speaking Tribes of South Africa*; Krige, *The*

*Social System of the Zulus*; Maes and Boone, *Les Penpludes de Congo Belge*; and Herskowitz, *Dahomey*. But the main structure and most of the details remain good evidence of the permanent interest of the book.

J. L. M.

#### OCEANIA.

**Some Modern Hawaiians.** By Ernest Beaglehole. University of Hawaii Research Publications No. 19. 171 pp. Price \$1.

This small book is the report of an exceptionally detailed investigation of culture contact in Hawaii, conducted under the auspices of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology in the University of Hawaii.

Starting with a brief summary of the historical background, Dr. Beaglehole shows how a not inconsiderable Hawaiian civilization broke down as a result of the pressure exerted on it by American culture. The Christian religion was substituted for the traditional beliefs, various local institutions such as the monarchy disappeared, and small holding took the place of the ancient feudal system. The new peasant-proprietors suffered exploitation at the hands of the Westerners and gradually the greater part of the land passed into American ownership. Actually, however, the speed with which the white man attempted to impose his own culture on a less advanced indigenous one was too great for its success to be assured without delay, and the characteristic values of the people were too deeply embedded in their lives to be entirely changed within a short space of time. The new fields of work opened to the Hawaiians by American commercial enterprise were not immediately congenial to their temperament, and the economic inducements offered were hardly sufficient to stimulate their enthusiasm. Dismissing the natives as lazy, the Americans further complicated matters by importing labour from China, Japan, and the Philippines. Dr. Beaglehole points out that this estimation of the Hawaiian as lazy is entirely due to the lack of comprehension of his ideals. The work itself and the regular wage it brings in are of little importance to the native in comparison with the leisure which goes with less regular or less lucrative employment. Consequently the average standard of living of the Hawaiian is extremely low. To obtain his leisure and have time for recreation, which usually includes taxi rides and visits to the cinema, he is often content, as Dr. Beaglehole puts it: "for this inner satisfaction, to live poverty-stricken in a crazy shack on a vacant lot."

Although the American veneer is yearly increasing in thickness, various aspects of native culture are still present, especially in the conventions of family life. The composition of the household, for example, is still on a kinship basis and often extended over a number of generations. Adoption continues to be almost as common as it was before the advent of the Americans; while ideas concerning the relations between the sexes, including marriage, remain widely different from those of conventional Western morality. The loss of a great part of home life, however, and the intense Americanization of the young have given rise to a conflicting outlook and a difference in attitude between the generations.

Dr. Beaglehole has taken great pains to view as comprehensively as possible the processes and problems of cultural transition, accelerated in consequence of strong outside influence. He suggests that under such circumstances there are normally three attitudes that can be adopted by the native—a withdrawal from the fight, coupled with a glorification of the past; an active struggle to achieve better adaptation to present conditions; or a passive drift towards whatever social and economic haven there may be at hand.

"In a century and a half of intense cultural pressure," says Dr. Beaglehole in his concluding paragraph, "The Hawaiian has changed—from a stone age to an age of machinery, from a rigid class society to a capitalistic democracy, from the morals and religion of pagan Polynesia to those of Main Street. There have been lags and retreats, resistances and disillusion, but on the whole a steady process of change. The Hawaiian of to-day may well look to the past for the foundation on which to build for the future. From his peculiarly Polynesian heritage he may well salvage and consciously cherish certain social values: values of self-help, mutual assistance, co-operative living, values of friendliness and generosity. These values are positive and social, in the sense that they will enrich the personal life of the individual, and perhaps enter into the new cultural forms that are being evolved in Hawaii as dominating master-ideas, becoming the amalgam of a social life in and through which diverse cultural elements from Orient and Occident can be blended into a new cultural integration."

H. C. R. FULFORD WILLIAMS.

**L'Art des Iles Marquises.** By Willowdean C. Handy. With an Introduction by E. S. Craighill Handy. Les Editions d'Art et d'Histoire. 55 pp. 24 figures and 20 plates.

In her foreword, the authoress stresses the fact that Marquesan art must be treated in relation to the totality of culture of which it forms a part (p. 14); unlike many authors who piously reiterate this type of formula, Mrs. Handy proceeds at once to do what she promises; and in the pages which follow she gives a good, though necessarily somewhat superficial, review of artistic techniques in their cultural setting.

Mrs. Handy stresses the close relation between art and communal work, and shows how both of these were consecrated and made effective by magico-religious observances which served to emphasize the importance of the enterprise, to organize productive effort and to concentrate attention upon the work in hand; and she indicates in passing the economic functions and interdependence of artisans, chiefs, and other social groupings. There is an excellent summary of the usages connected with tattooing, which, as she clearly shows, were primarily derived specifically from wealth (in that it was to be made for the expert tattooer, his assistants and the attendant *ka'ioi*) and thus was only incidentally correlated with social status, a point on which several of the earlier observers were misled (p. 22). She notes, however, that specific designs were associated with different islands of the group (p. 23), an interesting example of the Polynesian tendency to adapt cultural forms to developments in local, social and political organization.

Some of the theoretical analyses of this book are open to question, particularly the opening statement and the inferences from it: "Pour l'indigène des Marquises, la confection de tout objet neuf était, littéralement, un acte de création, dérivé du premier acte de production" (p. 17). There is no adequate documentation for this statement, and the fact that the authoress does not appear to feel the need for it may be attributed to the failure of Polynesian linguistics to proceed beyond simple 'translations' and abstruse philosophic specu-



lations founded upon them to an analysis of the sociological significance of religious texts, and to an examination of the range of metaphorical and homonymous usages. To cite an analogy, we ourselves use the term 'creation' for the cosmogony and also for Paris gowns, without implying that the latter are in any way 'derived' from the former. Mrs. Handy's theory of Marquesan creative work seems to be founded upon European elaboration rather than upon original Polynesian concepts.

Like so many of the other books in this series, this work is encumbered with the usual type of digression that ramble around Oceania and its neighbouring continents (pp. 45-9); in this comparative section the authoress ranges, literally, from China to Peru in search of parallels; for example, she asks whether Marquesan and other Eastern Polynesian stonework may have been derived from the latter provenance. The answer is simple: Perhaps it was, and perhaps not; we shall probably never know; and in any case the problem has not the slightest bearing on the important scientific issues discussed in the earlier part of Mrs. Handy's work.

RALPH PIDDINGTON.

**The Philippines. A Nation in the Making.** By Felix M. Keesing. Issued under the auspices of the *Journal of Pacific Relations*. Oxford, 1938.

This book was written for senior high schools and colleges, and for the edification of the general public, especially in America, which knows very little about a people of whom much is heard in political discussion, both as to whether the Filipinos are ready for political independence, and also whether their goods and labour ought to be admitted to the United States. The author has provided a very good introduction to a discussion of these problems and to an understanding of the people. He shows that the Filipinos are essentially a people in a transitional stage, both of culture and economic organization. They are a very mixed people, and have repeatedly been subject to interference from outsiders, anxious to exploit the islands to their own advantage. But Spanish and then American enterprise having improved the means of communication, one of the results is to-day a growing sense of national con-

sciousness among a previously heterogeneous and divided population.

The people are increasing in numbers, their land produces commercial products such as sugar, coconuts, tobacco, lumber, and, recently, gold. Trade has increased rapidly but is mostly in the hands of foreigners. The main problem is that of the position of the agricultural worker who is in most cases tenant to a rich exploiting landlord, to whom he is in debt, and who is also in a position to control his vote. The landlords have been described as a cross between an English country gentleman, an American ward-politician and a Spanish grandee! In some of the pioneer belts where there are small independent farmers there has also been much poverty, especially as a result of the depression, but the dependence on a money income is not very great, and the Filipino has not a western industrial standard of living.

It is because of the dependent position, economically and politically, of so many Filipinos, that many of their more thoughtful spokesmen fear that their approaching independence will be nominal, involving the virtual domination by a small wealthy group. The key to the political problem is in this case, as in so many others of culture contact, largely one of economic alleviation.

ROSEMARY FIRTH.

**The Old-Time Maori.** By Makereti. Collected and Edited by T. K. Penniman. London, 1938. 352 pp. Price 16s. net.

In this book the reminiscences of a famous Maori lady of rank have been carefully recorded and edited by Mr. T. K. Penniman. Unfortunately, Makereti's lack of any conception of what it is important to record about a primitive people, and the personal character of her approach, produce an incoherent and highly idealized picture of Maori life. There are, particularly on social organization and marriage, undocumented and sweeping generalizations which are meaningless or misleading. Apart from some useful observations on food-getting and material culture, there is little to interest the serious student of Maori culture. Nor can it be recommended to the general reader as an accurate or comprehensive delineation of pre-European Maori life.

RALPH PIDDINGTON.

#### GENERAL.

**The Individual in East and West.** Edited by E. R. Hughes. Oxford University Press, 1937. vi + 197 pp. Price 7s. 6d.

While modern psychology and sociology increasingly insist that the individual is the universal unit of society, it is apparently still possible to overhear in an Oxford lecture room that "the individual has been 'discovered' by Christianity." This chance remark suggested the theme *The Individual in East and West* for the series of lectures which have been reprinted in the present volume. The contributors are specialists in such subjects as Hinduism, Biblical History, Greek and Chinese philosophy. They examine the relation of the individual to the community in their respective fields of study, and show that the problem has exercised men's minds from the earliest times.

Professor Marett speaks for the primitives, upholding their claim to individual existence, since they possess such institutions as that of individual marriage. Nor does he allow that backward peoples are unable to give expression to the relationship between the individual and the community. He shows, for example, that the Arunta belief in *churinga* is "a doctrine of the soul that does equal justice to the principles of individual identity and of racial continuity."

These lectures should be of educational value not only in Oxford but elsewhere.

C. MARGERY LAWRENCE.

**The Nature of Man: Studies in Optimistic Philosophy.** By Elie Metchnikoff. London: Watts. 1938. xviii + 210 pp. 18 figures in text and on plates. Price 5s.

To appreciate the worth of this little work one must remember that it is not merely a translation but also has been "revised and brought up to date," and that the author died in 1916. The theme is the disharmonies of nature (man's digestive apparatus and reproductive system, social disharmonies, and too early death) and how to remedy them. Religion and philosophy have failed; science alone can do something. "If a man complains to his physician of uncontrollable hunger and thirst, he is not told that it is wrong to be greedy and that the fault can be mastered by strength of mind. . . . Those who hunger and thirst after eternal life ought to be treated by men of science." To live happily one should live naturally and accomplish all natural acts, and apparently one should, after reaching a certain age, also cultivate a desire for death.

CANNING SUFFERN.



## CORRESPONDENCE.

## Prehistoric Sites in Ontario.

**100** SIR,—In the past two seasons (1938, 1939) archaeological work in the Manitoulin District of Ontario, carried on by the Museum of Anthropology of the University of Michigan, has yielded results which will be of interest to readers of MAN. On Great Cloche Island and on the mainland near Killarney, three sites have been found in and beneath ancient beaches of Lake Huron at elevations of 28 and 50 feet above the present lake level. One of these sites, the first to be found, is described in *American Antiquity*, V (1940), pp. 193-199, by E. F. Greenman and George Stanley. Dr. Stanley of the Department of Geology of the University of Michigan, basing his estimate on the rate of tilt of the land since the Nipissing stage of the Great Lakes, assigns an antiquity of 1,100 to 1,400 years to this site. Pottery, quartzite flakes and a quartzite end-scraper were found in water-laid gravels at the other site, of the same age, near Killarney.

The third site, at an elevation of 50 feet above the present level of Lake Huron, with an antiquity of from 2,010 to 2,600 years, is a non-ceramic site, and no implements of polished stone were found. Artifacts from this site are large blades, end-scrappers and choppers or hand axes, all of quartzite; celt-like implements of slate, and projectile points of flint. The latter, however, as also flakes of flint, were found only in the top soil, suggesting a more recent occupation. Flakes and artifacts of quartzite and slate, and one hearth, occurred in the subsoil to a depth of nearly three feet, with no sign of excavations from the surface. In one part of the site apparently man-made flakes of quartzite and slate were found in a thick stratum of heavy water-worn pebbles. These flakes, much worn by water action, are not characteristic of ancient beach-gravels in this region. Most of the material found on this site seems to have been carried from ten to thirty feet from its original position by wave action. E. F. GREENMAN.

## Cowries in the Balkans. (Cf. MAN, 1939, 165; 1940, 20.)

**101** SIR,—In the Balkans I found cowries worn both by women and children in Albania and in Bosnia. I do not remember ever seeing one worn by a man. But they were sometimes attached, along with blue beads, to the head-stalls of animals. So far as I could learn, their purpose was protective. They warded off the Evil Eye and in general were lucky. They were scarcer in Albania, but in Bosnia some women wore quantities, and I believe that many of the pendants that dangled from necklaces, ear-rings, etc., were in fact stylized cowries. In both Albania and Bosnia quantities of beads, coins, and cowries were sewn on children's caps, and on the hoods of cradles, as protection.

My old Albanian guide, Marko, had a deep belief in what he called 'stone snails' (ammonites) and vainly hoped to find one. These he assured me were the very best of remedies against illness and evil spirits.

M. E. DURHAM.

## Cowries in the Naga Hills.

**102** SIR,—With reference to the correspondence on cowry shells and in particular to Dr. Jeffreys' letter (MAN, 1940, 79), I write to point out that in the Naga Hills of Assam the cowry is commonly worn by males. In some tribes females also use it. A Sema woman, for instance, wears a waist string of cowries and, if the wife or daughter of a man who has performed a full series of 'feasts of merit,' she may have her

petticoat embroidered with a pattern of applied cowries. More usually, however, this is a male privilege and always seems to have reference to status, generally to that of a warrior with particular reference to his taking, though sometimes also the association is with triumphs of Venus rather than Mars (vide *The Angami Nagas*, pp. 24, 25, 27, 360). In either case there is an implicit association with fertility values, and it is conceivable that the cowry tied to the wrist of a dead Lhota as a gift to the demon on the road to the Village of the Dead had once some now forgotten association with rebirth, though a more prosaic currency value is perhaps more likely. Cowries are also used by the Angamis to make eyes for wooden statues and figurines.

As regards the references to *χοῖρος* and *porcus* the key to the use of the latter, at any rate, is surely to be found in the shape of the cowry shell which is broader at one end than at the other. It is, in fact, wedge-shaped, and the skull of the pig is also wedge-shaped and is so represented, for instance, in more or less conventional figures in the Naga Hills. The Latin adjective *porcinus* and the expression *caput porci* are both used of a wedge-shaped order of battle, and it seems likely that some supposed similarity of shape is responsible for the association between the female genitalia, cowries, and pigs or, at least, pigs' heads. Compare the German *Hure* = whore, and the French *Nure de sanglier* (also of some fish), both associated by Liddell and Scott with *χοῖρος*. It is possibly significant that the Angami, who erect a menhir to represent the male principle in nature, also build up a stone platform with raised edges apparently to represent the female, and insist that such a platform must be narrower at one end than the other, i.e., must be wedge-shaped.

J. H. HUTTON.

## Scheme for Recording the Folk-lore of Prehistoric Remains.

**103** SIR,—It has been decided, by the Council of the Folk-lore Society and with the support of the Prehistoric Society, to prepare and publish as complete a collection as possible of items relating to the folk-lore of prehistoric monuments and implements in England. The co-operation of members of the Royal Anthropological Institute is invited to help to make this collection as full and accurate as possible.

The inquiry includes the folk-lore of megaliths, barrows, hill-forts, and other earthworks, and also includes the folk-lore of Celtic fields and strip-lynchets. It also covers stone axes, arrow-heads, holed stones, and other implements and ornaments.

A more detailed outline of the scheme, with provisional classification and questionnaire and bibliography, appears in *Folk-lore* for December 1939. I shall be happy to supply intending helpers with a copy of this memorandum and shall be glad to hear from anyone interested. *The Folk-lore Society,* L. V. GRINSELL.  
*c/o Royal Anthropological Institute.*

## Rock-Pictures in New Guinea. Illustrated. (Cf. MAN, 1939, 173.)

**104** SIR,—In MAN, 1939, 173, by J. Röder, on rock-paintings in New Guinea, I was surprised to read that, with the exception of some paintings described by W. M. Strong in 1923, 'no further discoveries have been made.'

Whilst carrying out field-work in the Tanga Group, Bismarck Archipelago in 1933, for the Australian National Research Council, I came across rock-pictures of a similar type to those described by Mr. Röder. The

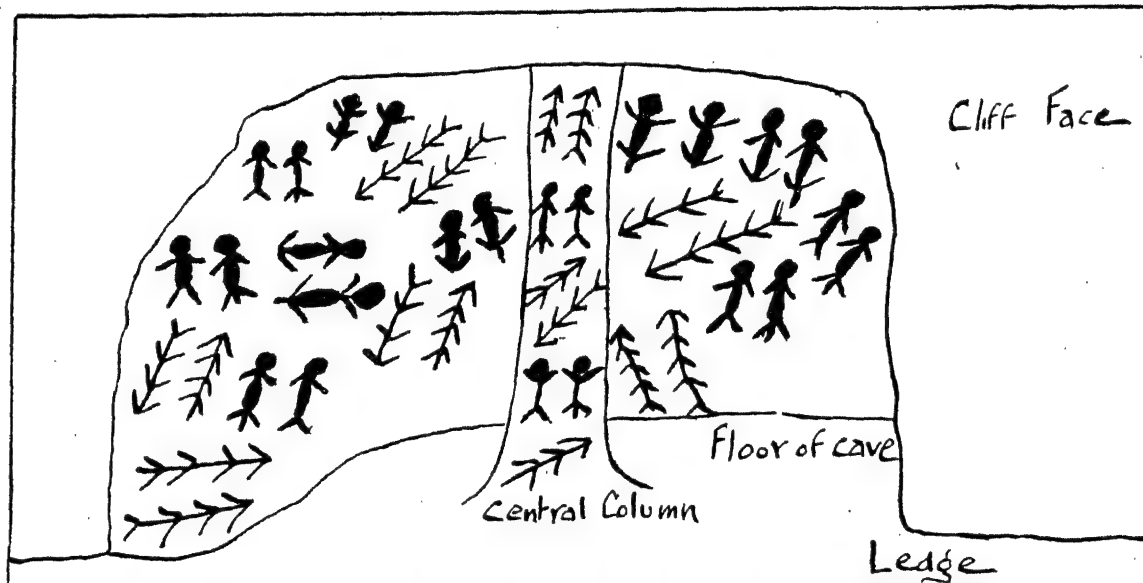


FIG. 1. ROCK-PICTURES ON BOIENG ISLAND, TANGA GROUP, BISMARCK ARCHIPELAGO.

northern coastline of the island of Boieng, Tanga Group, is formed for the most part by a series of rugged limestone cliffs, which rise 50 to 150 feet sheer from the ocean. I have no doubt that no white man had ever visited this part of the island before my coming, and it was only when my native guides were convinced that my curiosity could only be satisfied by a personal examination of several caves in the cliffs to which they had referred, that I was shown the path down the face of the almost perpendicular limestone wall.

I let myself down, hand over hand, by means of vines which grew in a crevice of the cliff, to a narrow ledge about halfway down. After clambering along this ledge for about 20 yards, I entered a cave in the side of the cliff about 12 feet long, 10 feet deep and 7 feet high. Rising from the centre of the floor to the roof of the cavern was a limestone column about 18 inches in diameter. Both this column (*Bai-If*)<sup>1</sup> and the smooth white walls and ceiling of the cave were covered with hundreds of paintings in red ochre. Fig. 1 shows the interior of the cave (*li-na-tif-tif*) showing the type and position of the paintings. The reproductions are not to scale. They exhibit five different characteristics. (1) They are sometimes drawn with the arms and legs pointing up. (2) In other cases they are drawn with the limbs pointing downwards as in fig. 2. (3) In some cases the limbs point in different directions. (4) Often the sex is indicated (fig. 2). (5) In several cases the human (?) figures take on a herringbone pattern (fig. 3).

The cave, like all the others on the island, had a name. It was called (*li-na-tif-tif*) which literally translated means 'the cave connected with love-magic.'

My informant explained to me that if one wished to perform the love-rite connected with this particular cave, one rose early in the morning and, without partaking of food, obtained a sharp turtle-bone, a ripe betelnut and some red ochre. Thus equipped, the performer climbed down to the cave and, mixing the ochre with some spittle in the palm of his left hand, he used his right forefinger to mark out, either on the wall of the cave or on the central column, two human figures close

together. One of these figures represented the male performer and the other the woman who was the object of the love-rite. The performer then dipped the turtle-bone in the ochre-spittle mixture and pierced the betelnut with the bone. It was only necessary to offer the betelnut to the desired woman and the magical circuit was completed.

My informant told me that this form of love-magic, like all others on the island, was the specific property of a few men who had inherited it from their fathers' or, less frequently, their mothers' brothers. It had been

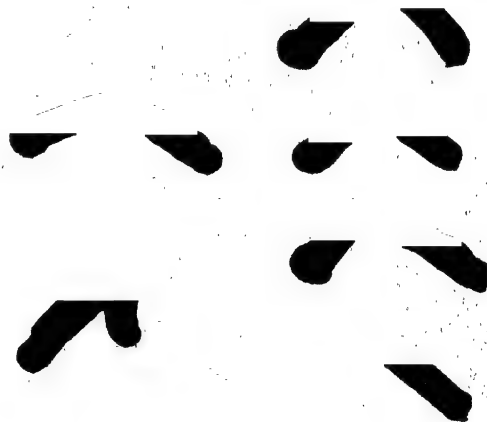


FIG. 2.

FIG. 3.

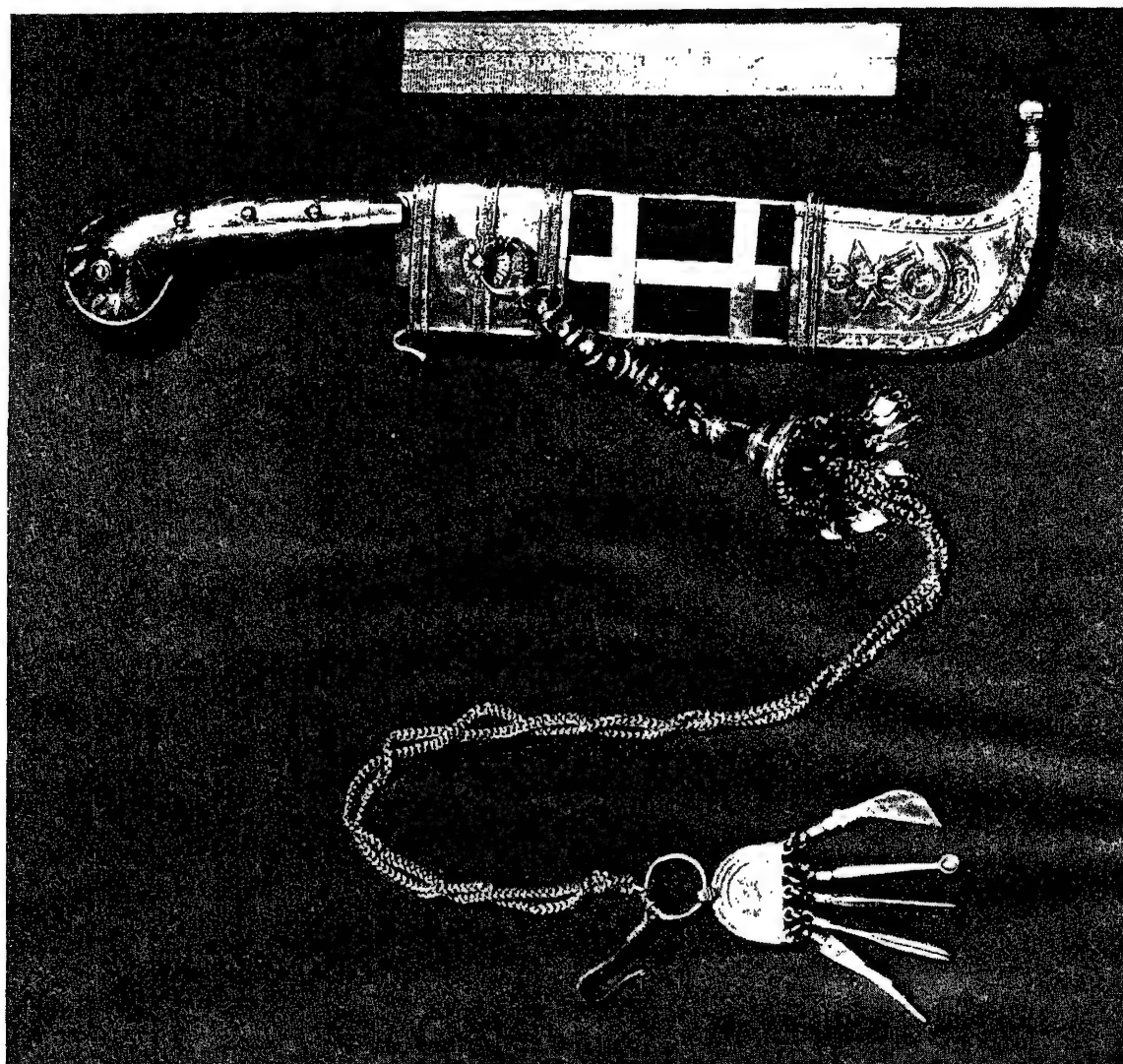
ROCK-PICTURES ON BOIENG ISLAND.

practised for generations and there did not seem to be any reason to believe that the paintings in the cave were 'prehistoric.' They are definitely part of the culture of the present-day occupants of the Tanga Group, and are equally definitely associated with love-magic.

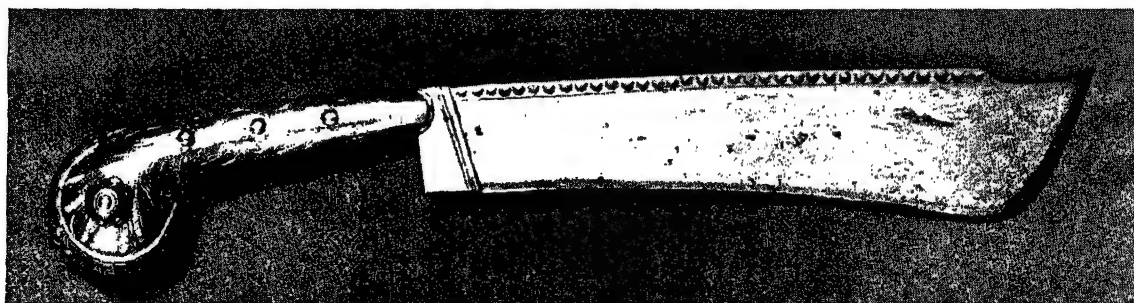
F. L. S. BELL.

<sup>1</sup> *Bai-If* is the native name for the column. *If* is the Tanga for 'fire.'





1. THE CHATELAINE WITH KNIFE IN SHEATH



2. THE KNIFE WITH BLADE EXPOSED

A CHATELAINE FROM COORG, SOUTH INDIA

# MAN

## A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

XL, 105-122

JUNE, 1940

### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

With Plate F.

**A CHATELAINE FROM COORG, SOUTH INDIA.** By *M. B. Emeneau, Ph.D., Yale University.*

**105** In *Essays Presented to C. G. Seligman* (London, 1934), Louis C. G. Clarke, in his article "Modern 'Survivals of the Sumerian Chatelaine'" (pp. 41-7), discusses the distribution, geographical and historical, of the chatelaine, *i.e.*, a combination of toilet implements, typically three, tweezers, toothpick, and ear-pick, either hung on a ring or secured by a burred pin through the end of the three implements. The article makes it clear that we have here a unitary combination of implements, and the distribution is of interest, as well as the changes, in the way of elaboration or degeneration, that the combination shows in some of its occurrences.

On p. 43 Mr. Clarke says that "In India the ear-picks and tweezers are very common." I can corroborate this from observation, and have also seen several examples of the typical combination of three, secured by a pin, and manufactured in some cheap white metal. These are common articles of sale in the bazaars of South India certainly, and probably in the north also.

One of the elaborations mentioned by Mr. Clarke is the addition to the three of a sickle-shaped object, which he interprets as, perhaps, also a toothpick. It occurred in Roman times in the form of a single implement with ear-pick at one end and sickle-shaped blade at the other; it is not made clear whether at that period this object occurred as an addition to the three in a chatelaine. However, Mr. Clarke's Fig. 3 is an example of the combination of four from China, probably of the Tang dynasty, and he mentions its occurrence doubtfully in Kazzan graves of the ninth century, and with the further addition of a brush among the Lepchas. A French seventeenth century chatelaine has the sickle-shaped object, and an eighteenth century specimen from Holland is plausibly interpreted as having a debased form of the sickle-shaped object among its implements.

The accompanying plate shows a chatelaine from Coorg in South India which probably contains as one of its implements an adaptation of the sickle-shaped object. Fig. 1 shows completely an article which is part of the traditional ceremonial dress of the men of the Coorg community, a warrior caste who are at the top of the caste-scale in this area of the Western Ghats and are the landowners. The knife is worn in its sheath of plantain-wood (teak and ebony are also used) mounted in silver, pushed through the sash on the man's right side-front. The hilt is of silver, and both it and the sheath have some slight further ornamentation in gold. The chasing on hilt and sheath is sometimes filled with red lac. To the sheath is attached an elaborate chain terminating in a tassel, all of silver, and to the latter is attached a double silver chain which hangs over the right hip and is fastened to the upper edge of the sash at the middle of the back by the hook fastened to the ring at the end of the chains. To the ring is attached a semi-circular plate of silver, from rings on the diameter of which hang the five members of the chatelaine, also in silver. They are in order from left to right in the photographs, a model of a gun, tweezers, toothpick, ear-pick, and the sickle-shaped object in question. This last is shaped after the model of the large Coorg sword, and is so interpreted by the Coorgs. It is probable however that we are dealing here with an adaptation of the well-attested

sickle-shaped object noted by Mr. Clarke, the model of a gun having been added in comparatively recent times as a companion-piece after the sickle had been re-formed into the shape of a sword. Our interpretation of the model of the sword would undoubtedly be buttressed if clear cases were reported from India of the sickle-shaped object as a member of chatelaines.

This article of ceremonial dress is possessed by every Coorg man, since the ceremonial dress is still frequently worn. It is made by the local goldsmith caste. In all cases but one that I observed the metal employed was silver; the exception was a particularly ornate one, in which all silver parts were replaced by gold, the wood of the sheath was replaced or covered where it was visible by mother-of-pearl, and there was some use of jewels on the pommel, which was shaped into the form of a parrot's head. Antique specimens probably exist and

might show evidence of the evolution of the chatelaine; I have not seen any such specimens. The publication of some specimens of the Coorg knife by the Hon. Wilbraham Egerton (afterwards Lord Egerton of Tatton) in *An Illustrated Handbook of Indian Arms* (London, 1880; 2nd ed. *A Description of Indian and Oriental Armour*, London, 1896) shows that it has not changed in essentials since that time. In the matter of the chatelaine, Lord Egerton's descriptions do not make it clear what the implements were that were contained in the specimens that he describes; it is clear however that there were five implements. Three other specimens described by him, from Malabar, Hyderabad (Deccan), and Gujerat, have similar implements attached, but no exact description of these is given (references in his 2nd ed. are p. 82, Nos. 99 and 105, and p. 138, No. 723; and to the Coorg knives, p. 82, Nos. 102-4, and p. 163, No. 80).

**BLUMENBACH'S CENTENARY.** *By Sir Arthur Keith, M.D., F.R.S. Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, b. May 11, 1752—d. Jan. 22, 1840.*

**106** When J. F. Blumenbach, Professor of Medicine in the University of Göttingen died in the opening month of 1840 he had enjoyed for half-a-century a fame such as has fallen to the lot of few men of science. The rising young anthropologists of England—James Cowles Prichard and William Lawrence—modelled their methods on his and dedicated their books to him; Sir Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society opened his portfolios and cabinets to him and made him gifts; the Royal Princes of England were sent to Göttingen to listen to his lectures; the Princes of multi-state Germany vied with each other to do him honour; Göttingen made him free of municipal taxes; his university which he served for 65 years, worshipped him; learned people from all countries of the world crowded his lecture theatre; seventy-eight learned societies were proud to have his name on their honorary list; new species of animals and plants were named after him. Famous explorers offered him the best of their treasures.

And now, after a century, Blumenbach has become, for most of us, merely a name. What has happened to make him so remote a figure? The truth is that between us and him there lies a century of revolution in anthropological thought. In the year of his death Anders Retzius, the Swede, read his first paper on the classification

of human skulls by taking measurements of length and width, thus introducing metrical methods to anthropology, and ever since our subject has become more and more metrical. It is true that



JOHANN FRIEDRICH BLUMENBACH.  
*From an engraving.*

his Dutch contemporary, Peter Camper, had sought to measure the angular projection of the face; Blumenbach found the facial angle of little help in distinguishing one variety of mankind from another. Just before 1840 Thomsen and



Nilsson, of Denmark, had opened a pathway into the prehistoric past, and ever since their successors have been revealing early forms of man and of implements of which Blumenbach knew nothing. At the same time all his observations and opinions on anatomy and physiology were being outdated by the discovery that the human body was made up of a vast conglomeration of living microscopic units or cells. The basis of human embryology was being laid; how the human embryo arises and develops was unknown to Blumenbach. The science of Genetics has been formulated since his time. These are some of the barriers which a century has raised between Blumenbach and us. But the chief has yet to be mentioned. Blumenbach accepted *Genesis* as authoritative; his successors seek elsewhere for guidance; everyone of them has become an evolutionist.

I should be dealing very unfairly with a truly great man if I gave the impression that Blumenbach was an unyielding creationist. I will quote a passage or two<sup>1</sup> which will serve to illustrate his attitude to Creation, his felicity of statement, and the charity of his judgments. "Every paving-stone in Göttingen," he writes, "is a proof that species or rather whole genera of creatures must have disappeared." Now, those familiar with the medical men of the eighteenth century will know of the great von Haller, physiologist, anatomist and man of letters; he was the exemplar which Blumenbach—and also our John Hunter—wished to copy. Von Haller regarded the idea that nature could extinguish or create species in modern days as a dangerous error which would be "snapped up by the atheists, to demonstrate the instability of nature." This, declared von Haller, "must not be, for if order in the physical

"world comes to an end, so also will order in the moral world, and all will be over with religion." To which Blumenbach replied: "For my own part it is exactly in these things (the creation of new and extinction of old forms of life) that I find the guidance of a higher hand most unmistakable; so that, in spite of this recognized instability of nature, the creation continues going on its quiet way . . . without the slightest danger to order, either in the physical or in the moral world, or for religion in general."

Blumenbach is described as the 'founder of Anthropology'; let us see what his claims are to this honour. Among his *Contributions to Natural History* there is one (No. xi) entitled "On Anthropological Collections." The article opens thus: "It seems above everything else hard to understand how it is that considering the zeal with which natural history has been cultivated at all times amongst all scientifically civilized nations, the naturalist was so very late in finding out that man also is a natural product, and consequently ought at least as much as any other to be handled from the point of natural history according to the difference of race, bodily and national peculiarities." Blumenbach applied the methods of the natural historian to the human species and in this sense laid the basis of modern anthropology.

This was but part of his service; he made the study of mankind objective. He was the first to build up an anthropological museum, assembling skulls, hair, skin, preparations, casts and pictures to provide anatomical bases for the study of the varieties of mankind. Up to his time such collections consisted of miscellaneous oddities preserved in the 'cabinets' of noble houses, for the idle amusement of the curious. Every specimen he added to his collection was of known race and place; it was a scientific collection designed to throw light on the racial history of mankind. John Hunter in England and Peter Camper in Holland were also making such collections, but that which Blumenbach assembled in Göttingen greatly outstripped theirs in value and extent. In 1795 he had 82 skulls, representing the chief varieties of mankind; at his death the number had risen to 245.

He was also the first to collect and systematize observations made by explorers and travellers on native peoples.

<sup>1</sup> I am glad to have this opportunity of acknowledging my indebtedness to an early enterprise of the Anthropological Society (amalgamated in 1870 with the Ethnological Society to form the present Institute). Even though its funds were at a very low ebb, the Society commissioned a member, Mr. Thomas Bendyshe, to translate the chief anthropological works of Blumenbach. The book containing them was published for the Society by Longman & Green, 1865, under the title *The Anthropological Treatises of Johann Friedrich Blumenbach*. It includes two biographical memoirs, two editions of the treatise *On the Natural Variety of Mankind* (De generis humani varietate nativa); and *Contributions to Natural History*. The list of Blumenbach's publications is a very long one.

As an author Blumenbach's chief contribution to the literature of anthropology was his book which has the English title *On the Natural Variety of Mankind*; the title he gave to it at first was: *De generis humani varietate nativa*. To understand the scope and nature of this work three points have to be kept in mind: (1) it was written in 1775 when the author was only 23 years of age; a second edition was prepared in 1781; a third and final edition in 1795; (2) in dividing mankind into four chief varieties, he took over, almost without change, the classification of Linneus; (3) accepting the Biblical account of creation as authoritative, he formulated his scheme to account for the origin of these four varieties or races, in a manner which was in keeping with the account given in *Genesis*.

He proposed the name 'Caucasian' as a designation for the white or European type of humanity. The 'choice example' of this 'middle or Caucasian variety' was that of 'a young Georgian female, made captive in the last Turkish war by the Russians'; it was 'very symmetrical and beautiful.' It is usually stated that it was the possession of this particular specimen which induced Blumenbach to adopt the name 'Caucasian' for that variety of mankind which extends from India to Ireland. This was not so. Let me quote the relevant paragraph from the 3rd edition:

"I have taken the name of this variety from Mount Caucasus, both because its neighbourhood, and especially its southern slope, produces the most beautiful race of men, I mean the Georgian; and because all physiological reasons converge to this, that in that region, if anywhere, it seems we ought with the greatest probability to place the autochthones of mankind."

I have placed in italics his second reason for giving the name because it is undoubtedly his chief one. The Caucasus is placed near the centre of the distribution of that variety of mankind which he proposed to name 'Caucasian'; it is in my opinion the most suitable name that has been proposed.

But what were the 'physiological reasons' which 'converge' to this region? The chief was that physiologists had observed animals and human babies turning from a light to a dark colour but not from dark to light. Therefore the white man or Caucasian represented the primal or original type. This type had wandered towards

Eastern Asia, and under new climatic conditions and modes of life had 'degenerated' into the Mongolian variety; it had passed into Africa and there 'degenerated' into the Ethiopian variety. And there was another reason which Blumenbach did not think necessary to mention—namely that Mt. Ararat, on which the Ark settled, lies at the southern slopes of Mount Caucasus. The scheme of evolution of human races proposed by Blumenbach was perfectly consonant with Biblical tradition.

Blumenbach explained the origin of varieties of mankind by invoking a process of devolution, whereas we of a later day believe the process to be one of evolution.

In every page of his writings Blumenbach's warm emotional nature is apparent; he was too human to walk within the narrow limits of scientific orthodoxy. This is apparent in his insistence on the unity of the human species; all its varieties, he declared, are of one kind or family. His survey of humanity convinced him—if ever a doubt had entered his head—that in preaching the unity of mankind the Bible was in the right. Everywhere in the world, when he traced his varieties of mankind, so well differentiated in the centres of their distribution, towards the periphery of their distribution they merged into each other, so that it was hard to know where to draw a line of separation. To his three chief varieties—Caucasian, Mongolian, and Ethiopian,—he added two of lesser value—the American, which he regarded as intermediate to the Caucasian and Mongolian varieties, and Malay (an unhappy term for the Australasian) which he placed between the Ethiopian and Caucasian varieties. He saw that an infinite number of minor varieties might be named though not definable with precision. Unlike many modern anthropologists he regarded such intermediate varieties, not as the result of a fusion of neighbouring races but as a result of his process of 'degeneration,' or as we should say, of evolution. In this I think he was nearer the truth than are many of his modern successors.

His attitude towards races of mankind other than that of which he was a member, may be illustrated by his treatment of the negro. He quotes with approval Fuller's statement "God's image he too, although made out of ebony." "This," Blumenbach goes on to say, "has been doubted sometimes, and on the contrary it has

"been asserted that the negroes are specifically different in their bodily structure from other men. . . . Personal observation . . . has long since convinced me of the want of foundation in these assertions": and again: "This variety (the Ethiopian) principally because it is so different in colour from our own, has induced many to consider it, with the witty but the badly instructed in physiology, Voltaire, as a peculiar species of mankind." Voltaire was Blumenbach's 'public enemy No. 1.'

There is one thesis which Blumenbach never ceased to expound with conviction and which richly deserves our re-examination. Is man a domesticated animal? His answer to this question is: Yes! but at the same time he took pains to point out that man is not a domestic animal in the same sense as are the pig, horse and ox. We know, he declared, the original wild states, from which man has turned them. Man, on the other hand, he held to be born domestic or tame; man he assured his readers never existed in a wild state. He alone is born with reason implanted in him, and, unlike all other animals, is destitute of every trace of instinct. We of the twentieth century may well cast an envious eye on the eighteenth century, which permitted the leading anthropologists of the world to form so charitable an opinion of human nature. And yet Blumen-

bach saw Napoleon's armies trample his own state underfoot. Man may be a domestic animal in times of peace, as Blumenbach believed, but in those of war, he is the most untamed and untameable species in the realm of Nature.

"Immediately after he had got up in the morning," wrote Prof. Marx, his pupil, colleague and biographer, "he was frizzled and powdered according to the old-fashioned style, and then put on his boots and kept them on till he went to bed." Blumenbach brought the manners and outlook of the eighteenth century, into the nineteenth; he had in him all that made the professorate of Germany respected and beloved throughout the civilised world. They were men of great learning, abounding in liberality of thought, manifesting a big-hearted friendliness towards every searcher after knowledge. As we have seen, Blumenbach's attitude towards humanity was cosmopolitan; he loved people of his own kind and country, but only in so far as they represented one of the many varieties of mankind; he did not strain his science to give his own country and race a special place in the scheme of providence. I dare think, were he to return to the scene of his labours, the change in dress adopted by his successors would shock him less than the transformation of the ethical outlook they have given to his science.

**GLASS-MAKING IN NUPE.** By S. F. Nadel, Ph.D. With a note by Professor C. G. Seligman, F.R.S.

**107** *Terminology.*—The Nupe glass-makers' guild call themselves *masagá*. The real Nupe glass, i.e., the glass which they make, is called *bíkini*, as against the glass which is obtained from melting down bottles; the latter is called *kwálaba* ('bottle').

*Furnace.*—For the making of glass a completely new furnace must be used, i.e., one of their furnaces that is used every day for smelting iron is re-dug for the purpose of making glass; later it may be used again for smelting. The furnace is circular, approximately 5 ft. high and 2 ft. in diameter. Throughout the process it is covered on top with potsherds and broken calabashes, which leave a small gap open, through which dark black smoke escapes. Four men are working continuously at the furnace, working the bellows in shifts, adding fuel, stirring the fire with long iron sticks, etc. The fire is kept up day and night, for two to five days, according to the amount of glass to be made.

In the glass-making I witnessed, the furnace was worked for about 24 hours; the fire was kindled at 4 p.m. on a Friday afternoon, after the return from the mosque (they always make a point of that), and was kept burning till next evening.

*Process.*—They first prepare their raw material, sand and natron, arranging two heaps of these inside a neighbouring hut. The sand (*jíkana*, the ordinary Nupe word for 'sand') is the sandy soil which has been dug out in preparing the furnace; the natron, or soda *kanwa*, is of the kind that can be bought everywhere in Nigeria from native traders, who bring it down by caravan from the Chad. They also have water ready, and above all, fire-wood.

First the sand and the pulverized natron are mixed into a fine powdery mixture, and a little water is added so that this attains a muddy consistency. The mixture is placed on the bottom of the furnace. Wood is placed above

it, and also a layer of grass for the lighting of the fire, which is left to burn for 6-7 hours. A little slag from a blacksmith's forge is added, washed down by considerable quantities of water. After 18 hours the glass in the furnace has become liquid, 'like water' (their own expression); this is ascertained by probing the furnace with long iron rods. One of the two samples of glass sent was taken out of the furnace at this stage. After another eight hours the glass, now said to be finished, is taken out and left at the kiln side to cool. It is removed as a red, glowing, pasty material, which hardens very quickly. The cooling takes 5-6 hours.

The glass is stored in this form until required for use in making bangles, when it is again melted, and worked. At the present day it is mostly mixed with bottle-glass or European glass of other colours, for the Nupe no longer seem to appreciate the old black glass made by the *masagá*, but prefer coloured glass, or at least that of the greenish colour of beer bottles. At the end of the process the furnace can be used again for ordinary smelting.

The materials for an ordinary charge are as follows:

- 60 bundles of fire-wood;
- 1 basin (*kpanu*, i.e., 4 gallons) of sand;
- 1 basin of natron;
- 1 handful of slag;
- 5 calabash (*evo*, i.e., 1 gallon) of water.

*Note by Professor C. G. Seligman, F.R.S.*

Dr. Nadel was so good as to send me three samples which he had himself collected from

Nupe glass-makers. One of these was a rough lump of black glass (sp. gr. 2.58), which represented the finished product. The question he put was whether such glass could be manufactured from the two native raw materials supplied, namely, a red siliceous earth and a deliquescent greyish white solid, strongly alkaline, thought to be some form of potash.

My friend Dr. P. D. Ritchie was so kind as to examine these spectrographically, and also to determine that by their use a black glass could be made. He found that when the two raw materials were mixed in the arbitrary ratio of 1 of the red earth to 3 of the alkaline product, a mixture was obtained which gave a spectrum almost identical with that of the finished glass brought back from the Nupe by Dr. Nadel, and also almost identical with that given by the red siliceous earth. Actually only a minute trace of potash was found, the native alkali being essentially sodium carbonate but containing a fair proportion of calcium. When Dr. Ritchie heated a portion of the 1:3 mixture, alluded to above, at 1,200 °C. for 24 hours in a small crucible, a glass of poor quality was formed, containing nodules of undissolved silica from the red earth, though the black glassy matrix binding these together closely resembled the sample of black Nupe glass sent to him.

Dr. Nadel, who is at present in the Sudan, has not access to his Nigerian notes, but I learn from him that the furnace has no doors, that the opening is temporarily closed with potsheerds, that only one bellows is used, and that the furnace itself is partly below ground-level.

## MAN AND ELEPHANT IN CENTRAL AMERICA.

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I.

While on a botanical expedition to Mexico in the summer and autumn of 1938, I paid a visit to Guadalajara, in the Department of Jalisco. Here I met a man (Señor Don Miguel Sánchez del Castillo)<sup>1</sup> whose hobby it was to dig up the bones of elephants and men from the dried-up bottom of a neighbouring lagoon. The bones were all found a few inches below the surface, and the excavator believed them to be contemporary. I was unable to see the bones *in situ* as, at the time of my visit, the lagoon was full of water. But I obtained and brought home photo-

*By W. Balfour Gourlay.*

graphs of some of the excavated human and elephant bones, and showed them to Dr. A. Tindell Hopwood of the British Museum (Natural History) at South Kensington, Professor F. Wood Jones of Manchester, and Mr. Miles Burkitt at Cambridge. All, however, noted a difference in texture in the human and elephant bones, the smooth surface of the former showing them to be more recent than the elephant bones, among which they may have been deliberately buried, or all brought together accidentally by some natural process.

I then wrote to Señor Sánchez del Castillo, asking him whether the human bones showed any evidence, by position or otherwise, of having been

<sup>1</sup> Señor Sánchez del Castillo's address is:—  
Sector Juárez, 42-C No. 454, Guadalajara, Jal., Mexico.

buried. I recently received a reply from him, telling me that he had made further investigations on the spot. He found that the human bones occurred in three different layers. In the upper layer they lay about anyhow like corpses on a battlefield. In the two lower levels the corpses had evidently been buried, as they lay flat and parallel with their heads pointing to the north. It was in the lowest of these three levels that the human bones lay mixed with elephant bones. So

lowest level he also found a needle or awl, which had been made from the leaf point of a 'maguey' plant (*Agave* sp). This had been preserved through petrification.

I may mention that fossil elephant bones abound in Mexico. An elephant skeleton from the Valley of Mexico, which occupies a prominent position in the Biological Museum of the National University in Mexico City, is labelled *Archidiskodon imperator*.

## II.

On a visit to Central America, in 1921, I found what I believed to be evidence that man and some elephant-like creature had

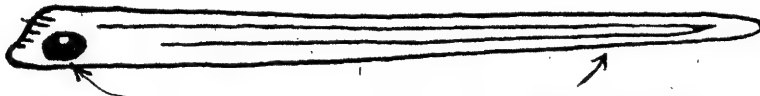


FIG. 1. NEEDLE OR AWL OF 'MAGUEY' LEAF, FOUND NEAR HUMAN REMAINS IN A LAGOON AT GUADALAJARA, MEXICO.

it is clear that the human and elephant bones were not contemporary and that the former were of more recent date than the latter. On the



FIG. 2. CARVED STONE FROM SAN SALVADOR: FRONT VIEW.



FIG. 3. CARVED STONE FROM SAN SALVADOR: SIDE VIEW.



been at some period contemporary in that region.

While on a voyage down the west coast of Central America, I spent a few hours in San Salvador, and took that opportunity of visiting the capital (of the same name)—a few miles from the port. There I saw, on a pedestal outside the local museum, a very primitive and almost life-sized representation of the head of a strange animal, carved from a block of black lava. The statue was about two feet high (figs. 2, 3). The animal bore a trunk, too long for that of a tapir, and too short for an elephant. If intended to represent an elephant, it was obvious that the artist had never seen one and did not understand its anatomy, as the eyes were placed in the middle of the ear lobes. I could obtain no information whatever about this primitive work of art, but photographed it. On my return to England, I showed the photograph to the late Professor (Sir) Grafton Elliot Smith.

The professor had no doubt that the carving was intended to represent an elephant; and explained that he believed that *elephant worship* (but without actual elephants) was brought at some time to Central America from some Oriental country. Elephant representations or idols, he supposed, had been copied, and the copies copied again, and again, until the features of the original pachyderm had been obscured—thus accounting for such unconvincing elephant carvings as are said to be found to-day in various parts of Central America. Professor Elliot Smith then showed me drawings of architectural ornamentation, from various Central American countries, containing what he regarded as elephant designs. I felt at the time that *photographs* of this ornamentation might possibly have been more convincing than the drawings, but none were shown.

Regarded as an elephant portrait, the San Salvador statue is by no means convincing; but as a problem demanding solution I think that it is by no means without interest.

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

### An Account of an Excavation near Mersin, 1938-9.

**109** *Summary of a Communication made by M. C. Burkitt, 7 May, 1940.*

The lecturer began by suggesting that the Tell near Mersin had proved to be one of the most important sites in the Near East. The excavations were undertaken by the Neilson Expedition led by Professor Garstang. Mr. Seton Lloyd was in charge of the upper levels and during the 1938-9 season the lecturer investigated the lower ones by means of a terrace excavation. Altogether from the summit downwards the following cultures were represented:—Byzantine, Imperial Hittite, Cilician Hittite, traces of early Troy (?), El Ubaid (fortress), Tell-Halaf (village), pre-Tell-Halaf (= proto-chalcolithic, 3 metres), Upper Neolithic and Lower Neolithic (together 9 metres). The terrace section started at the lower limit of the Tell Halaf deposit and continued downwards nearly to the level of the river.

The pre-Tell-Halaf (proto-chalcolithic) layer yielded much painted pottery. Some of the sherds were reminiscent of those found in a so-called Neolithic milieu at Nineveh. Others resembled the painted pottery of Thessaly I. The main decoration motif was a chevron pattern in red, the lines being narrower and the wares finer towards the top of the deposit than they were nearer the base. It is interesting to note that a few characteristic Mersin proto-chalcolithic painted sherds were found in the lowest levels at Alishar. Buildings, pavements and silos were excavated, dressed limestone blocks being sometimes used for corner stones. Mud-brick

was also used. There was a poor industry in obsidian and chert which included awls and sickle-blades. There were also a few bone piercers, slate and obsidian bracelets and a shell-bead necklace.

Below the proto-chalcolithic level a great change was noticed. Here there was no painted pottery, nor was mud-brick employed. No well-made house walls or pavements were found. The pottery of this Upper Neolithic period was well baked and very fine, and was quite undecorated in any way, a frequent characteristic feature of the vessels being their very everted rims. The obsidian implements were somewhat more numerous and more interesting than those of the proto-chalcolithic. Below this again, in the Lower Neolithic level from 7.50 metres downwards, the pottery changed once more. Hole-mouthed vessels made of softer, coarser wares, though well burnished, were the order of the day and these frequently showed an incised decoration round the mouth of the pot. This was particularly interesting as it would seem that the only other place where similar pottery may have been found is at Ras Shamra, in the lowest levels. The obsidian industry, too, was very striking and far superior to anything that occurred higher up. It included beautiful lance-heads and daggers—pressure flaking being the rule. Small greenstone celts were also found. It would seem that the industries from these lower levels must antedate anything hitherto known in this part of the Near East. In the foothills of Taurus, bordering Cilicia, there are many rock shelters to be explored which would surely yield late Palæolithic industries.



The Reverend Hugh Miller asked the lecturer (i) Whether the degeneration in quality showing in the workmanship of the obsidian celts, to which reference had been made, would not be due to the introduction of competitive copper, bronze and/or iron weapons and implements of the Halberstadt type: (ii) whether a 'Deluge stratum' had been discovered on the Mersin site contemporaneous with

the distinct break elsewhere—as at Ur and Lagash—between the palaeolithic and neolithic cultures. Mr. Burkitt agreed with the suggestion of (i), but said the only accompaniment of the gap alluded to in (ii) was a thick bed of ashes. There were no strata of water-borne sand or clay: but the elevation of the Mersin site above sea-level must be carefully borne in mind.

## OBITUARY.

**Sir Hubert Murray, K.C.M.G. 29 December, 1861–29 February, 1940.**

**110** Born in Sydney—the second son of Sir Terence Aubrey Murray, President of the N.S.W. Legislative Council, and elder brother of Professor Gilbert Murray of Oxford—John Hubert Plunkett Murray was educated at the Sydney Grammar School, at University College, London, and at Magdalen College, Oxford. In 1885 he graduated with a first class both in Honour Moderations and in Literae Humaniores, and was called to the Bar in 1886. From the Inner Temple he returned to Sydney, and was there in practice till he joined the New South Wales contingent for the South African War, from which he retired as Lieutenant-Colonel with the Queen's Medal and four clasps. In 1904 he was appointed Chief Judicial Officer of Papua, and in 1906 Acting Lieutenant-Governor, and soon after Lieutenant-Governor in succession to Sir William MacGregor. Here he found his lifework. He was made C.M.G. in 1914, and K.C.M.G. in 1925; in 1930-32 he was President of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science; he was a Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute, and a contributor to its publications. His death was recorded, with an obituary, in *The Times*, 29 February, 1940. The appreciation of his personality and services, which follows, is from the pen of Dr. A. C. Haddon. J. L. M.

When the southern portion of New Guinea was finally annexed Dr. (later Sir) William MacGregor was appointed administrator by the Queensland Government; for years he had served under Sir Arthur Gordon (later Lord Stanmore) the Governor of Fiji, who initiated an enlightened policy for dealing with native affairs. MacGregor, as far as was practicable, continued this policy among a congeries of peoples in New Guinea, who were much more backward and less organized than the Fijians and had no real chiefs. When Lieutenant-Colonel (later Sir Hubert) J. H. P. Murray was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of New Guinea, he continued and developed the existing policy. In the early days it was necessary that a great deal of geographical and other pioneering work had to be done, gradually and bloodlessly, native tribes were brought under Government control, much of which was accomplished by MacGregor himself. Sir Hubert was confronted with a somewhat different task: he had under him officers who had experience in exploring most difficult

SIR HUBERT MURRAY, K.C.M.G.

country and who knew how to handle raw natives always suspicious and often fierce. They have now completed the geographical survey of the Territory of Papua, as it is now termed officially, and have added greatly to our knowledge of all types of natives. Sir Hubert officially visited the greater portion of Papua and thus had acquired a great deal of first-hand knowledge of all types of natives. He realized that wise government and a way to avoid friction, so far as that is ever possible, was largely dependent upon sympathetic knowledge of their mode of life, their land tenure, customs, ideas and ideals. Resident magistrates, patrol officers, and other officials can help, and have helped, to acquire information, but often their motives

were suspect to the natives. Sir Hubert therefore appointed a Government Anthropologist to make such investigations, the first of whom was Dr. H. Merish Strong who was also an expert in Papuan linguistics. He was succeeded by F. E. Williams whose excellent publications are well appreciated by ethnologists.

To the present writer Sir Hubert gave invaluable assistance by requesting magistrates and patrol officers to send information on a special subject and in allowing them to send to the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology a large number of specimens, and doubtless he helped other students as well. Sir Hubert was one of those outstanding administrators of whom the British Commonwealth may well be proud. He devoted himself entirely to the well-being and peaceful progress of the natives. In the early part of his administration he acquired a considerable amount of unpopularity, as it was thought that he favoured the natives at the expense of the planters and traders. With Sir Hubert the matter was one of principle and taking the long view he was convinced that his first policy was the only fair one to the natives. He stuck to his guns, and future events fully justified him.

That the natives under Government control recognize the fatherly care for their welfare is shown in that after thirty years of his administration he received a petition from the natives begging that he would never leave them, and he promised them that he would spend the rest of his life in Papua. The Commonwealth Government wisely extended indefinitely the date of his retirement and, as he wished, he died while still in active service.

The change which a little more than a decade has made in the improvement of the condition of the natives is demonstrated in the books written by Sir Hubert: "Papua or British New Guinea" (1912) and "Papua of today, or an Australian colony 'in the making'" (1925).

Anyone who is acquainted with various methods of the administration of natives will admit that for a people in the stage of social development such as that of the Papuans it would be difficult to devise a policy better adapted to their present conditions, and at the same time one which was calculated to assist their progress towards a more civilized mode of life and towards an orderly development on the lines of such self-government as is possible in the immediate future.

Sir Hubert combined a friendly and courteous nature with a rigid sense of duty and a firmness of character especially where native welfare was concerned. He was a man of fine culture and he

kept up his classical reading even during his expeditions, finding therefrom a refreshing contrast to the often squalid conditions of native life, and a relief from the official routine of administration.

A. C. HADDON.

He was Lieut.-Governor for the record span of 32 years, and thanks to an iron constitution and a spartan temperament, his energy and his high intellectual finesse remained undiminished to the end. He had been in his youth a notable athlete; he had commanded a regiment in the Boer War; and during his long years in the tropics he seemed to find satisfaction in almost unnecessary hardship. His personal life was simple to a degree, and innocent of vice-regal display. When he became Lieut.-Governor in 1908 he continued to exercise his judicial functions, constantly trying High Court cases on his tours of inspection. To the natives he was always known simply as 'Judge Murray.'

He was a pioneer of the administrative theory that a primitive country such as Papua should be developed primarily for the sake of its own native inhabitants and primarily through their own efforts; and to this ideal, in spite of commercial-minded criticism, he remained essentially true. His remarkable understanding of native mentality helped him to realize it. The humblest villagers were encouraged to approach him, and they were assured of personal sympathy.

His contributions to anthropology were mainly in the sphere of application. He always said, in public and private, that he was not a scientist—"It must be understood that I am not an anthropologist myself, though I admire anthropology in 'others.'" But he possessed in high degree the qualifications of a humanist, and as such he dealt with native problems, as far as he found possible, in the spirit of anthropology.

His was one of the first British administrations to make a regular appointment for a Government Anthropologist (1920; steps had been taken as early as 1915, but were checked by the War); he was perhaps the original advocate of a Chair of Anthropology at Sydney University (1921); and his contributions to our science were recognized when he was made President of the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science (1932).

His views, always expressed in a style of model simplicity and grace, have been expounded in numerous pamphlets on native administration and in two books, *Papua; or British New Guinea* and *Papua of Today*.

F. E. WILLIAMS.

## REVIEWS. SOCIOLOGY.

(1) **The American Criminal: An Anthropological Study.** By Earnest Albert Hooton, with the collaboration of the Statistical Laboratory of the Division of Anthropology, Harvard University. Vol. I: *The Native White Criminal of Native Parentage.* xvi + 309 pp., Appendices, and Index. Price \$10.00.

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(2) **Crime and The Man.** By Earnest Albert Hooton. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press (Oxford University Press), 1939. xvi + 403 pp. Price \$3.75.

The first of these two books represents the first section of the materials and results of a survey of race

and nationality in relation to crime in the United States. It is intended to be 'the most extensive anthropological study of criminals ever made' and was carried out by the Division of Anthropology of Harvard University with the cooperation of the Massachusetts State Department of Vocations. The object of the investigation is to ascertain whether American criminals are physically from law-abiding citizens of the same race, nationality, and economic status, and if so, why (p. vii). The second volume will deal primarily with native Whites of foreign parentage, and with foreign Whites (see p. 277), while the third volume will be concerned with the study of County Jail prisoners, Negroes, Negroids, and Mexicans (p. xi). The Appendix to the present volume has no less than 480 pages of tables, of which the text furnishes a complete analysis. The smaller book (2) is a popular summary of the investigation as a whole, anticipating some principal contents of volumes II and III.

Vol. I concerns itself with 4,212 native White criminals of native parentage from nine states, namely, Massachusetts, Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, Wisconsin, Kentucky, Tennessee, and North Carolina, whereby the preponderance of southerners is largely due to the concentration of Old Americans in the southern states (p. 256). Each state shows its own differentiated physical type of criminal: "Forgery and fraud and venery" are overloaded "with Texans, rape" is common among criminals, first-degree murder with Kentuckians, and second degree "murder with convicts in all three of the East Central mountain states" (p. 256). It must be observed here that all of the individuals studied were adult males. A small group of adult females from the State Reformatory at Sherborn, Massachusetts, has been studied, but has been omitted from the analysis (p. 42). On pp. 36 ff. the author gives us a full account of the anthropometric technique and instruments used. Then follow lists of the various measurements taken on each subject, and of the indices calculated from the data. Other measurements were taken, but not included in the analysis, among others the total length of the hand, and length and breadth of the palm (p. 41). It is rather surprising that "hand measurements were taken on relatively few subjects," and also, that no attention was paid to the feet, since details like the proportions of fingers and toes, and phenomena like syndactyly and polydactyly and others would have been of some importance. A still more important omission is a medical examination. No attention could, therefore, be paid to hereditary diseases. Consequently, no genealogical study in this direction was included. This is the more regrettable as we find a mental classification of subjects and a grouping of intelligence quotients adopted from the scheme devised by Dr. Winfred Overholser for the survey conducted by the Massachusetts State Department of Mental Diseases (p. 44 f.). Most of the mental defects enumerated in column No. 1, p. 45, should have suggested genealogical investigation; but, unfortunately, the material obtainable was scanty (p. 44). Sociological facts were largely copied directly from the prison and reformatory records. The appointment of psychological and sociological investigators proved to be impossible (p. 42). A few words must be said about some of the "Sociological Observations" (pp. 41 ff.).

Concerning "Occupation" (No. 4), Prof. Hooton notes that he "has entertained a considerable scepticism as to the reality of many of the occupations assigned, largely because of the considerable number of prisoners who are really professional criminals or persons of no occupation," but that "this scepticism has been diminished considerably in the course

"of detailed analysis of the data, because of the high correlations displayed between occupation and various sociological and physical characters." He adds: "Few criminals are gifted—even in mendacity," an extraordinarily interesting statement. The ingenious liars, then, recorded in criminal history would turn out to be exceptions to the rule. Prof. Hooton's remark, however, is only incidental here and would otherwise lead to many arguments pro and contra.

The classification of offences, No. 6, is, of course, of paramount importance. The following scheme was adopted: (a) First-degree murder; (b) Second-degree murder and other lesser homicide; (c) Assault and all other personal violence, except rape; (d) Robbery; (e) Burglary (breaking and entering), larceny, receiving stolen goods; (f) Forgery, fraud; (g) Rape; (h) Other sex offences; (i) Offences against public welfare (health and safety), including carrying concealed weapons, traffic in narcotics, illegal practice of profession, violating liquor laws, violating automobile laws; (j) All other offences. It is admitted that there are defects in this offence classification, and that the data "do not permit us to investigate the nature of the offence," where the statements of the records are doubtful. Section (i) undoubtedly includes some offences representing violations of administrative laws rather than of criminal law in the narrower sense of this term.

Under No. 9 we find the following "primary racial and parentage classification": (a) White, native born of native parentage; (b) White, native born of foreign or mixed parentage; (c) White, foreign born; (d) Negro; (e) Negroid (mixed Negro and White); (f) Indian (pure or mixed); (g) Other; (h) Unknown; (i) Not observed. The present volume deals only with sect. 9 (a). More detailed explanations are given on p. 257 f., where we learn that the majority of the individuals investigated consists of "persons of American lineage extending back to the time immediately after the Civil War or much earlier," while "possibly a very few may be the descendants of immigrants who arrived no earlier than 1894." This statement implies that the probable reservoirs from which the criminals considered in the present volume were drawn are the following ethnic stocks: English, Irish, Scotch, Welsh, German, Dutch, French, and Scandinavian. The average age of the native White criminals of native parentage is 30.7 years. The youngest ones come from two reformatories, those of Massachusetts and of Colorado, which states both "have received large increments of aliens in the period of immigration following the Civil War." Some of the younger criminals here considered are undoubtedly descendants of those comparatively recent immigrants. They are "presumably of urban origin in the majority of instances." But only 36.85 per cent. of the total series have records of foreign extraction. Out of the 1,552 records of alien ancestry only 40, or 2.58 per cent., admit Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Polish, Austrian, Bohemian, Jewish, or Greek lineage, and all of these are mixed (p. 258). It is deplorable that the data on previous convictions are defective, as in some of the states the records were very poor, and in one (North Carolina) no information was secured. In any case "the burglary and larceny group is notable for its high percentage of recidivists" (p. 259; compare also p. 275).

Having anticipated some details wherein the survey is, admittedly, defective, we have to stress the fact that still the positive material here offered is enormously rich. The most interesting chapters are: IV (Morphological Differentiation); V (Sociological Differentiation by Offence Groups); VIII (Differentiation by Occupation); XI (Metric and Indicial Differentia-

tion between Criminals and Civilians of Similar Parentage), and XII (Sociological and Morphological Differentiation between Criminals and Civilians of Similar Parentage).

Then comes the Summary and Conclusions, whereby Prof. Hooton deals critically with the pioneers of criminal anthropology—Lombroso and Goring, and sums up the results by the innumerable tables. He holds that, though "certainly not every individual of our series is mentally deficient or physically inferior," nevertheless it seems clear that "the criminal is inferior to the civilian of corresponding status, either physically or mentally, or both." The information here provided proves that "it is from the physically inferior element of the population that native born criminals of native (white) parentage are mainly derived," and the author argues that "physical inferiority is of principally hereditary origin; that these hereditary inferiors naturally fall into unfavourable environmental conditions; that the worst or weakest of them yield to social stresses which force them into criminal behaviour" (p. 308).

So far so good. But what would be the practical application of such knowledge? For there must be a practical application as, otherwise—to quote one of the leading anthropologists of our days—anthropology would be no more than an idle mental game. Prof. Hooton ironically alludes to "some earnest students of criminology who are still optimistic enough to believe that improved methods of penology may bring about the rehabilitation of a majority of adult incarcerated criminals," and that "preventive measures applied to the early environment of the criminal-to-be may inhibit the development of his antisocial tendencies and even eradicate them entirely" (Preface, p. vii). He himself is going to present his own ideas upon the subject of the elimination and prevention of crime until all of the factual matter of this survey has been set forth and analysed (p. viii). But he anticipates (ibid.): "Let us no longer delude ourselves with the fond hope that a social cancer can be cured with sugar pills and hospitalization. It demands the knife." Now the book No. 2 under review gives us an outline of the author's legislative suggestions (Chapter XI, "The Anthropology of Crime," pp. 370 ff.). Here Prof. Hooton emphasizes the necessity of the study of human heredity, because "the human organism itself, by its qualitative variations, is the source both of human evil and of human good" (p. 394). He claims that "the study of human conduct must not be divorced from the simultaneous attack of anthropology, medicine, and psychology upon the individual" (p. 395). "It is necessary," he writes "to relate gross anatomical structure to physiological and mental variation in the large mass of the so-called 'normal' human beings." But furthermore he urges that, without waiting for the results of studies of constitution in relation to disease, mentality, and behaviour, "we must begin at once to fill that vast and shameful hiatus in our knowledge of man—human genetics." "We must begin by thorough scientific examination of couples about to be married, and follow them and their children through life, observing, measuring, and analysing, offering as compensation to these voluntary subjects free medical care and other advantages" (p. 396; italics are the reviewer's). This is as if marriages between individuals suffering from incurable hereditary diseases should not, in themselves, be prevented. However, Prof. Hooton goes on writing: "We can direct and control the progress of human evolution by breeding better types

"and by the ruthless elimination of inferior types, if only we are willing to found and to practise a science of human genetics" (p. 397; the italics are the reviewer's). As a matter of fact, these suggestions of Prof. Hooton's conform closely to the present legislation, in particular the "Law for the prevention of progeny afflicted by hereditary diseases," the Marriage-Law of 1938, and others. Reference to those laws, by which the realization of the author's proposals has evidently been largely anticipated, would have been useful as a basis for comparative arguments. Hooton's final conclusion is a cheerful prediction: "With sound and progressively evolving human organisms in the majority of our species, problems of human behaviour will be minimized, and there will be improved educability." Still, it might be a little too optimistic to prophesy: "Crime can be eradicated, war can be forgotten" (p. 397).—It is impossible to enter into the details of the popular book (No. 2) here, so it only remains to say that it is rich in facts and fascinating theories and that, instead of dry statistical tables, we find a number of delightful symbolic drawings. L. A.

**Aboriginal Woman, Sacred and Profane.** By Phyllis M. Kaberry. London (Routledge), 1939. xxvii + 294 pp. Map and illustrations. Price 15s. net.

The authoress deserves more than usual credit for her achievement. The task which she sets herself might easily have been bungled. But Dr. Kaberry does not allow vagueness, sentimentality, exaggerated subjective impressions, or sweeping generalizations to mar her detailed study of the position of woman in Australian aboriginal society.

The book contains a mass of information on the childhood, daily life, marriage, social and political status, economic functions, and religious position of aboriginal women. Since all of these are related to the wider cultural framework, the book incidentally gives a comprehensive picture of Australian native life. The value of Dr. Kaberry's work is most obvious in the passages where she quotes theoretical conclusions formulated by previous writers, and based upon the casual remarks of earlier observers. Against the solid background of fact provided in this book, no one could take these seriously. The citations from Briffault in particular show the absurdity of basing pretentious theories on pre-scientific Australian ethnography. Dr. Kaberry corrects a number of mistaken impressions, old and new. Among other things, she disposes of the fantastic suggestion that in Australia no physical bond between mother and child is recognized. She shows clearly that this bond exists, and describes the ways in which it is culturally expressed.

One of the most useful sections of the book deals with marriage and kinship. Here we are given what has long been awaited by students of Australian kinship—a description of the dynamic forces underlying relations between kin and a detailed statement of the incidence of regular, alternative, and 'wrong' marriages among several tribes. In an extreme case less than half the unions are regular and almost a quarter are 'wrong'. This puts us on the road to a more realistic relation between Australian kinship 'systems' as symmetrical but unworkable norms of conduct, and the actual behaviour of the aborigines.

Here, as elsewhere, Dr. Kaberry finds that a simple statement of norms and obligations can only lead to misunderstanding of the true position. This is produced by a balance of human interests, needs, and activities, which modify at every point the highly formalized structure of Australian society:

"To those without insight into the aboriginal culture

"of North-West Australia, the kinship system seems to clamp together individuals in a marital union irrespective of incompatibility and sexual attraction. Its enduring character is apt to be interpreted as the rigidity that arises out of a fixed relationship of the autocracy of the male and the vassalage of the female. But in the light of the material presented in this book, the bare statements that a man marries his m.m.b.d.d., or that he wields the authority, have been shown to be no simple statement of the facts in one case, a *polygyny*, in another. Courtship, polygyny, the existence of a marriage into an alternate subsection, the persistent opposition of a woman to a marriage that is repugnant to her, the ultimate acceptance by the tribe of a wrong marriage—all these reveal a wider play of individual factors than was at first evident" (p. 158).

Having defined the important place of woman in secular affairs, the book concludes with a discussion of her religious life. This is spectacular than that of the men, it is a vital part of the culture. The ritual segregation of women is related to economic life, and to the specific requirements of each sex as part of the total community.

Dr. Kaberry's whole treatment of her problem shows the futility of attempting to define the place of woman in primitive society in terms of simple contrasts, for example, between 'equality' and 'degradation,' 'dominance' and 'submission,' or 'sacred' and 'profane.' Such meaningful formulations are reached by superficially stressing certain phases of life at the expense of others: "No one index can serve as a final criterion of the status of aboriginal woman. We must define, and, if necessary, define at length, the whole network of relationships of which she is an integral unit. We must examine her functions as a wife, a mother, and a daughter; as a member of the kinship, local, and totemic groups; we must see what claims she makes on her environment, on society, on her gods" (p. 271).

This task Dr. Kaberry carries out with thoroughness and incisiveness arising from patient and keen appreciation of the theoretical implications of ethnographic data. The nonsense which had previously been written about aboriginal woman is almost justified by the fact that it has stimulated Dr. Kaberry to produce this outstanding contribution to scientific anthropology.

RALPH PIDDINGTON.

**Superstition and Society.** By R. Money-Kyrle. London. Hogarth Press, 1939. ix+163 pp. Price 4s. 6d.

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The alliance between anthropology and psycho-analysis is one that has attracted the attention of those who have given some study to both; to those who have not, this book may come as a revelation. Mr. Money-

Kyrle points out that the well-adjusted man is far too apt to take his own culture for granted and thus to become insular, narrow and intolerant. On the contrary the ill-adjusted man with no knowledge of cultures other than his own will often fail to realize the value of the traditions, conventions and institutions that he feels to be restricting him. Anthropology has much to offer both these types and may therefore be regarded as an essential part of liberal education and a most important part of the education of the modern man.

The anthropologist, on the other hand, cannot afford to neglect the teachings of psycho-analysis without leaving some of his material unexplained. Its applications have in fact a far wider scope than one would adduce from a study of Freud's original researches on abnormal mentality, and we now look to its technique for the explanation of much that seems otherwise irrational.

In this small book Mr. Money-Kyrle has demonstrated that the technique of psycho-analysis can give far more rational explanation of the apparent irrationalities and obscurities of myths than the previously advanced theories imputing their origin to actual historical fact, to parables, or to allegory. He has also discussed other psycho-analytical contributions to anthropology under the heading of exogamy, totemism and taboo, animism, magic and religion and finally given us a short psycho-analytical interpretation of the development of culture as a whole and formulated a schedule which might be used to formulate the laws of sociology. This, he suggests, would give man the power to mould the character of future generations according to his will.

G. P. L. MILES.

**The Science of Society: An Introduction to Sociology.**

By J. R. P. B. Sc. Econ., Ph.D. London:

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1939. 125 pp. Price 3s. 6d.

This is a very good little introductory textbook to sociology which begins by an examination of the credentials of the science of sociology; continues with good critical definitions of the various terms such as 'the State,' 'society,' 'culture'; and finally links up these concepts, and the theories about them, with various contemporary problems. There is a particularly apt chapter on biological sociology which examines just how much we know, and how much more we do not know about heritable racial characteristics, physical, mental, and moral. 'Biological arguments about race often turn out to be no more than rationalizations made in order to justify a certain course of action, or else the uncritical application of biological categories to 'social phenomena.' Nearly all racial, nationalist theories are in fact wish-fulfilment, and not science. There are good chapters on the method of sociology and the historical development of the science.

ROSEMARY FIRTH.

## ASIA.

**Peasant Life in China.** By Hsiao-Tung Fei, Ph.D., with a preface by Professor B. Malinowski. London: Routledge, 1939. 300 pp.

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Dr. Fei's book is an important contribution to the scientific study of Chinese culture. It contributes both in methodology and content. In methodology it shows how to bridge the gap between sociology and anthropology by making use of the intensive method without losing sight of the broader issues. The author has further demonstrated how Prof. Malinowski's dynamic method of studying a changing situation can be employed to study present-day Chinese culture to greatest advantage. The author maintains, and rightly so, that the interplay of the "outside forces working for the change and traditional forces bearing on the

"change" "results in a changing situation" (p. 198). In content the book aims at showing the relation of an "economic system to a specific geographical setting and to the social structure of the community," exemplifying "the importance of regional factors in analysing these problems" and "providing empirical illustrations" (p. 1).

The first half of the book describes the social structure including such topics as the *chia* (household), inheritance, kinship extension and livelihood. The latter half of it is devoted to the study of agriculture and land tenure, and especially the silk industry. One of the significant findings is the relation between the stage of technology and size of land-holding. He maintains that this fact has far-reaching influences on social phenomena like



land tenure, and the frequency of family division (p. 171).

But more significant is the finding on the relation between clearly formulated ideas and action taken in consequence of such a formulation, as demonstrated in the changes brought about in the silk industry. He shows how the incomplete definition of the problem in terms of technique has resulted in the failure to appreciate the important rôle to be played by some corresponding changes in the social organization to facilitate changes in technique (pp. 203-211).

On some points the author is not as clear perhaps, nor as consistent as would be necessary. For instance, in connexion with calendar of work he says, "Their activities in production are not individualistic and spontaneous. They need collective actions and preparations" (p. 144). It is true that the villagers all use the same calendar of work, but has not the author also told us that "The villagers do not arrange their calendar themselves. They simply follow the published calendar. . . . The principle of these systems is not understood by them. They even do not know where the calendar is issued and who is the authority" (p. 150)? Such a formulation is not helpful to our understanding of the reality. Indeed, later the author shifts around and says, "I have shown that the use of the hoe in cultivation has made most of the work very individualistic. Group work yields no more than the sum total of individual efforts" (pp. 170-171).

In the presentation of social and economic principles the author tends to systematize the data and give not an actual but a supposed example; for instance, about inheritance (p. 66 and pp. 194-196). It may be argued that this will help the reader to visualize the reality, but it is arguable that if, instead of these, the author gives one or more comparatively typical but actual examples, the data will be of greater value, because the actual land-holding and division, e.g., can rarely be as clear-cut as the author's diagram on p. 195.

Regarding the agrarian problem of China the author holds that it is "incorrect to condemn the absentee landlord and even the usurers" (p. 284) because they are the agents of financial function between town and village (pp. 185-6). It is impossible to do justice to the subject in such a limited space. It suffices to point out that the author's position here is a highly arguable if not doubtful one. Even from the author's own data (pp. 183, 189, 279, etc.), such a conclusion is hardly to be reached.

The treatment of ancestor-worship and magic is inadequate and somewhat superficial, but as the author frankly admits that this is only a "premature account," which is published for reasons of urgency of need, it is natural that the book does not contain the fuller quantity of data desired by the author. Dr. Fei is now again in the field, and we may be sure that with the wider opportunities presented his coming works will be even more valuable.

FRANCIS L. K. HSU.

**Walkabout: A Journey in Lands between the Pacific and Indian Oceans.** By Lord Moyne. London: Heinemann, 1936. 366 pp. Price 18s.

In a period of a few months Lord Moyne's party travelled 30,000 miles, visiting a varied range of native peoples living in exotic surroundings. A certain superficiality in their observations was therefore unavoidable, and it is a tribute to their courage, diligence and enterprise that they were able to collect so much. The matters which are rather cursorily treated leave the reader eager for further information. For there is a great deal more that one would wish to know, particularly in regard to Lord Moyne's pertinent comments

on native administration and colonial policy. The opinions of a man so widely travelled and so obviously impartial would be of even greater value if they were more closely argued and more fully documented.

Numerous specimens of material culture were collected, and the contributions of the expedition to physical anthropology are assessed in an introduction by Dr. A. C. Haddon and an appendix by Dr. A. J. E. Cave. The ethnographic observations are suggestive rather than conclusive, though they do suggest that many of the areas touched upon by Lord Moyne offer a vast amount of material for fuller field research, and in this respect the book must be regarded as an *aperitif* rather than as a solid meal.

On the other hand, the kaleidoscopic scenes, impressions and views has its interest is never for one moment allowed to flag, and the narrative is both interesting and well told. The story of how the party was stranded far up the Ramu River, of the cheerfulness and resourcefulness with which their difficulties and dangers were faced, is undoubtedly the most outstanding episode in the whole sequence of adventures. And the excellent photographs by Lady Broughton with which the book is enriched help to re-create the vividness of the scenes.

RAUL H. PHILLIPSON.

#### Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border.

By Robert B. Ekvall. Univ. Chicago Publ., 1939. *Anthropology: Occ. Papers*, No. 1. xiii+87 pp., map. Price 7s. 6d.

This publication is of special interest. It is evidence of the growing co-operation between anthropologists and those who, in various practical capacities, have gained valuable experience of the simpler societies. Anthropology has never been able to overlook the vast mass of data supplied by untrained observers; but the more anthropological theory can percolate into such data, the more valuable it will be. Fortunately an increasingly organized effort is being made to bring this about.

The present work is the outcome of Mr. Ekvall's participation in the seminar on Racial and Cultural Contacts held under the auspices of the Division of Social Sciences in the University of Chicago. Mr. Ekvall delivered a paper which was discussed by the seminar before being expanded into the published account. The result is in no way amateurish and, brief as it is, supplies information of unique interest.

The Kansu-Tibetan border is peopled by a number of distinct cultural groups. Mr. Ekvall singles out for description the cultural relations between the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems, between the Chinese and the sedentary Tibetans, between the Moslems and the nomadic Tibetans, and between the nomadic and the sedentary Tibetans, since these four are of outstanding importance. The Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems are held apart by difference in religion, which has resulted for the most part in segregation. Where they have dealings with each other it is chiefly because the Moslems are temperamentally suited to occupations which involve greater risk and danger such as transport, trade, soldiering and inn-keeping, whereas the Chinese prefer the safer occupations. The Chinese and the sedentary Tibetans are religiously akin since both follow Buddha, but they speak different languages. Here there is no segregation, but a continuous process of infiltration by the Chinese among the Tibetans, largely due to the higher birthrate of the former. The Moslems and the nomadic Tibetans are dissimilar in every way, but reciprocal trade affords an occasion for contact. The nomadic and the sedentary Tibetans have the same language, the same religion and other cultural similar-



ities, but are dissimilar in occupation. Perhaps the most interesting point to note here is that the nomadic Tibetans, although possessing a poorer material culture, are considered superior to the sedentary Tibetans, both by the latter and by themselves.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Ekvall will feel encouraged to present us with further material from the Kansu-Tibetan border, for his short account carries conviction, not only of the reliability of his facts, but of his wealth of further knowledge about the country in which he has lived and worked. C. MARGERY LAWRENCE.

**Language Hunting in the Karakoram.** By E. O. Lorimer. London: Allen & Unwin, 1939. 310 pp., xviii plates. Price 12s. 6d.

**118** In her forenote, Mrs. Lorimer disowns for her book any claim to be serious or authoritative: "It offers it merely as an account of the life of the people spent among the Burusho of Hunza on whose language and ethnography her husband was at work. She is too modest. The account she gives of the life of the people of Hunza is of no little anthropological interest. After describing the circumstances of the expedition and the journey from Kashmir to Aliabad in Hunza, Mrs. Lorimer takes her reader through a whole year of Hunza life. Agriculture, clothes, crafts, and the daily round of Aliabad are portrayed in some detail and a picture is given of what seems one of the most idyllic existences left in a world too generally sophisticated by modern means of communication and the products of machinery. Much of the information given is of great interest. One

learns, for instance, of the most ingenious method of dealing with infants, who are packed in dried cowdung, which is changed from time to time, and found 'vastly preferable to the eternal washing of nappies,' an alternative impossible in any case to a people having little cloth, less fuel, and no soap, but who are, nevertheless, so clean that vermin does not exist in their houses, while their sanitary arrangements are far in advance of most of the Indian peninsula. Blacksmiths form a caste of foreigners living separate lives and speaking an Indo-Aryan language, among a nominally Muslim people who are otherwise free from caste, who observe no purdah, who do everything except blacksmith's work for themselves without any but the simplest machinery of water-mill, hand-loom and primitive lathe, and who speak a language of their own, Burushaski, which has no known affinity with any other, and to the learning of which a chapter is devoted. From the account given, no less than from the fifty or so very attractive photographs which accompany it, the Hunza and the Hunzakuts must be among the most delightful places and people to be found, and Mrs. Lorimer has described them in a manner not unworthy of her subject. "Savagery," said Sir William Hunter, "is a condition of unrest; civilization is a state of repose." If his aphorism be true, it is rather in the simplicity and poverty of the inaccessible Karakoram than in the industrial restlessness of the over-mechanized west that real civilization is to be found. At any rate, no one who reads of Mrs. Lorimer's Burusho could possibly declare them other than civilized. J. H. H.

#### GENERAL.

**The Evolution of Man and His Culture.** By H. C. Bibby. London: Gollancz, 1938. 92 pp. Price 1s. 6d.

**119** The first two-thirds of this little book are devoted to an account of the evolution of man and the origin of race, and to a sketch of the early cultures of Europe, illustrated with sketch-maps, and drawings of stone and bronze implements. There are statements which can be criticized, but on the whole this is quite well done. There follow some short chapters on social history, in which we are told (pp. 82-3) that very early communities were organized in matrilinear gentes. "In each gens there was perfect democracy. Each and every member of the gens, male or female, had a right to attend at all discussions of gentile matters, and to take a full part in the discussion and voting. There were chiefs, it is true, but they were elected, and often elected only for a specific occasion." This state of affairs, which "is presumed to have been common to the early stages of all races," was brought to an end by the advent of the Pharaohs, whose influence seems to have been more far-reaching than Dr. Perry has ever dreamed. The last chapter describes the

evils of capitalism and the advantages of Soviet government. RAGLAN.

**Human Types.** By Raymond Firth. London: Nelson, 1938. 205 pp. Price 2s.

**120** It would be hard to write a better short introduction to Anthropology than this book which one may equally recommend to the layman who wants to know what Anthropology is and to the student starting to study the subject. Dr. Firth has succeeded in summarizing without in any way lowering scientific standards, and without over-simplification or inaccuracies. He has treated the subject broadly and from all sides: race, environment, technology, economics, social structure, law, religion, magic, and so forth; and he has selected his material from many parts of the world. One pleasing quality of his book is the fairness with which he states conflicting opinions about theory, explaining them in simple terms and allowing the reader to judge for himself between them. One might only object that the title hardly does justice to the text. If its success is equal to its merits this book will run through several editions. E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD.

### CORRESPONDENCE.

**Human Variability in the Stone Age of Mount Carmel.** (Cf. MAN, 1940, 69.)

**121** SIR,—In his review of McCown and Keith's exemplary *Stone Age of Mount Carmel*; Vol. II (MAN, 1940, 69) Professor Le Gros Clark refers to the extraordinary variability of the Mount Carmel people, and points out that "the crux of the problem which [the authors] raise is undoubtedly to be found in the interpretation which is put on this mixture." Since this interpretation affects the very crucial problem of the origin and evolution of the human species, some dis-

cussion of it would appear to be desirable. The authors write:—

"How are we to explain the structural instability of the Mount Carmel people? Do they represent a people in the throes of an evolutionary transition, and therefore plastic and unstable in their genetic constitution? Or is the variability due to hybridity, a mingling of two diverse peoples or races . . . We have given the supposition of hybridity our serious consideration and have rejected it. To win support for such a theory we should have to produce

"the fossil remains of a Neanthropic form of man in Palestine from a level as old, or older, than the Levallois-Mousterian of Mount Carmel, as well as the remains of a fully evolved Neanderthal form. We have no such evidence. All who believe in evolution are agreed that Neanderthal man and modern man are descendants of a common human stock. There must have been a time in the history of that ancestral stock when individuals were undergoing differentiation along, at the least, two directions—towards the purely Paleolithic (Neanderthal) type and towards a Neanthropic type represented by the early people of Cromagnon. We regard the tendency of the Mount Carmel people to diverge into two types as being due not to miscegenation but to an evolutionary divergence. We suppose that the Mount Carmel people were in the throes of an evolutionary change" (pp. 13-14).

Now, the appeal to "the throes of evolutionary change" in order to explain the great variability of the Carmelites begs the whole question. The genetical evidence now available which relates to the processes of organic evolution is capable of supplying the answers to the questions raised by the variability of the Carmelites somewhat more pertinently than the authors have ventured to do. The matter is of particular importance for any discussion of the origin of what Blumenbach used to call "the variety" of the human species.

In the only scientific language in which this problem can be adequately discussed, namely, in terms of genetics, what the authors are saying is, that germinal changes manifested themselves phenotypically in the Carmelite population, and were genetically carried in heterozygous condition by a goodly proportion of that population. Random mating between some of the heterozygous carriers subsequently produced homozygotes showing the effects of the genes involved, and thus may be held to account for the variability observed in the phenotypes. In genetic terms this is what the authors mean. Or put in another way, what they are saying is that in the Mount Carmel people we are actually witnessing the effects of spontaneous changes in gene variability, or perhaps the effects of gene mutations, in process of changing the physical characters of a population. But the physical characters of the Carmelites are of such a nature that the probability of such changes having arisen spontaneously among them is, upon genetic grounds, so remote that it can hardly be seriously entertained.

The only explanation which the authors reject, that is, that of hybridization, or hybridization. The evidence suggests that there have been some crossing with a proto-Neanthropic stock. The negative fact that no fossil remains of such a stock have been found at a level as old as, or older than, the Levallois-Mousterian of Mount Carmel, merely suggests that, if one will seek, one may find. It were hardly rash to predict that the remains of mid-Pleistocene proto-Neanthropic man will at some future date be found in Palestine. There can be little doubt that the Carmelites were in "the throes of evolutionary change," and that was most probably due to the relatively recent introduction of new genes from another group, in short, to miscegenation, and not simply to "an evolutionary divergence." Spontaneous evolutionary divergence as an explanation of the variability of the remains of Mount Carmel man is incompatible with the character of that variability. Such an explanation would have to assume the mutation of far too many genes, or far too great a change in gene variability,—a kind of variability which in Nature occurs only after some miscegenation has occurred.

Left to themselves, relatively small breeding groups, such as the Carmelites, rapidly become homozygous; there is a scattering of variability, which 'race' is, becomes temporarily, the process, in human populations, the introduction of new genes, by heterozygosis, resulting in a greater variability (although this is not always necessarily so), until there is again a 'synthesizing' of the new combinations, and the group is once more relatively homozygous according to a new genetic pattern. The evidence appears to indicate very strongly that the Carmelites represented a group which had recently received a new infusion of genes from some Neanthropic stock. It is not impossible, but it is highly probable, that the variability of the Carmelites was due to spontaneous germinal changes, or to spontaneous variations in gene frequencies.

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**Nationalism: A Rejoinder.** (Cf. MAN, 1940, 57, 76.)

**122** SIR,—Sir Arthur Keith's view (MAN, 1940, 76) of our task as anthropologists implies that we should confine ourselves to cases of conflict and ignore instances where conflict is eliminated through existence of higher authorities and controlling mechanisms. Among these I would include the widening control of lawlessness throughout human history. Narrow loyalties and forms of organization have been progressively abandoned as they became out of date. Sir Arthur Keith suggests, in effect, that this process of widening authority must necessarily stop at the point which it has reached to-day; that stasis and conservatism are the only future possibilities in social organization.

The attitude in regard to the Finnish war, which Sir Arthur Keith attributes to me, is irrelevant to my statement. It is not a matter of saying what should be done in the face of armed conflict, but of eliminating armed conflict altogether through international authority, law, and social control in international affairs.

This is clearly impossible if 'nationalism is a manifestation of qualities deeply seated in the functional constitution of the human brain.' On this subject it is worth noting that the late Sir Grafton Elliot Smith reached a similar view. He argued that the neurological structure of 'natural man' is reflected in the behaviour of peaceful savages. These are but 'insular specks of humanity' to Sir Arthur Keith, who prefers to see 'human nature' manifested in the brawling nations of the world to-day.

In fact, each of these views of the functional constitution of the human brain implies one-sided emphasis on selected forms of human behaviour, leading to contrasting types of neo-phrenology. It is as absurd to talk about the human brain making men either 'peaceful' or 'nationalistic' as it would be to say that it makes them talk Swahili or Chinese; adopt patrilineal or matrilineal descent; or aggregate into empires rather than tribes. The demonstrable fact is that in such matters as concern us here, behaviour of human beings is modifiable without definable limit by the social institutions which they devise. The only relevance of the human brain is that it has made possible increasing mastery of human problems, and satisfaction of human needs on a world scale. The next step in this process is internationalism. RALPH PIDDINGTON.  
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#### Correction.

In MAN, 1940, 40, third line from end, the word 'Pastoral' should be printed 'Pastoral<sup>2</sup>'—Ed.





**ALFRED CORT HADDON**

**1855-1940**

*Photograph by Olive Edis Galsworthy, F.R.P.S.*

# MAN

## A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE  
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

XL, 123-139

JULY, 1940

### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

With Plate F.

ALFRED CORT HADDON, 1855-1940. *By A. H. Quiggin and E. S. Fegan.*

**123** London children are often pitied because they are cut off from the joys of the country, but much depends on their natural interests and on those of their parents. Dr. Haddon dedicated his *Headhunters* "to the memory of my Mother who first taught me to observe," and his early sketchbooks, many filled with the fruits of visits to the Zoological Gardens, illustrate the development of his interest in all living things. So when he showed no aptitude for business—"Haddon never cared about money," Sir Arthur Shipley observed at the dinner celebrating his seventieth birthday—he turned naturally to zoology on coming up to Cambridge in 1875.

Another influence dates from his early years at home, for here he met people from all over the world. His father's firm (John Haddon and Co., Salisbury Square, London) besides specializing in printing and type-founding, had a large produce business dealing with Africa and the South Seas, and various branches of the family were scattered about the world. His parents used to extend a hospitable welcome at their home to overseas relatives, clients, and their children, and travel must have seemed to the boy the natural corollary of home life. A further and more fundamental home influence was its Nonconformity. To be an anthropologist was generally considered equivalent to being an agnostic and free-thinker, and Dr. Haddon's association with Huxley, Clodd, and the Rationalist Press certainly lent colour to suspicion. But in the lectures on religion which the London Missionary Society invited him to give to their students, and in those which he gave to intending missionaries in Cambridge, he showed such understanding of their problems and susceptibilities that no word of his struck a jarring note on the most sensitive ear.

His 'vigour of mind and body,' for which the Master of Christ's gave thanks at the memorial service in the College Chapel, is amply illustrated in his life's record. He flung himself with zest and thoroughness into all that he did, and was keenly interested in his fellow-men and women, regardless of colour and class distinction. For about a year after taking his degree, he was Demonstrator in Comparative Anatomy at Cambridge and used to take his class to the country or the seaside in vacations, for practical study at first hand. While holding the Professorship of Zoology at the Royal College of Science in Dublin (1880-1900) he also acted as Secretary to the Dredging Committee; in this capacity he organized expeditions to study marine fauna off the Irish coasts, and photographs show him in fisherman's cap and jersey, characteristically taking a far more personal part in the proceedings than his bowler-hatted companions. "Let it not suffice us to be Book-learned," . . . . . "Nothing is insuperable to Pains and Patience," were his favourite quotations from John Ray, and in the pursuit of knowledge he was himself unsparing of both. Towards the end of his life a Finnish ethnologist, visiting him at Cambridge and expecting, as he afterwards confessed, to find 'a weary little old man' declared, 'there is something about him like fire, an astonishing contrast to his white hair.'

His first big book, *Introduction to the Study of Embryology*, was published in 1887, and from then

until 1898 he was contributing papers on marine biology to scientific journals. But it is noteworthy that one of his first letters to *Nature* (to which journal he was a contributor for 60 years) was on the 'Greek fret' (vol. 23, 1880) showing that he was already interested in decorative art, a subject which his rare combination of artistic skill and perception with scientific accuracy, continually enriched, witness his *Decorative Art of New Guinea* (1894), *Evolution in Art* (1895) and *Iban or Sea Dayak Textiles and their Patterns* (1936). At the very end of his life he was collecting materials for a larger work, and his trained eye and ripe judgment would indeed have produced a notable volume, though not many men of 84 would be found eagerly prepared to embark on such an enterprise.

The turning point of his life came when he went to Torres Straits in 1888 to study marine biology. In the beginning of his *Headhunters* he tells how he was drawn to the study of the natives, and how he felt the importance of finding out everything possible about them before all traces of their primitive ways of life were lost. Marine biology, less susceptible to the disintegrating influence of trader or missionary, could wait. Henceforth he devoted himself to the 'saving of vanishing data,' the importance of which he emphasized in many articles for both serious and popular journals.

Though on his return to Dublin he continued his work and published papers on the British Actinaria and on those of Torres Straits, he was turning his attention more and more towards the study of man, and organized a scheme for the Ethnographical Survey of Ireland, which he inaugurated with his work on the Aran Islanders (1893). Finding that he could not pursue his studies adequately in Dublin he returned in 1893 to Cambridge, giving lectures and demonstrations in Physical Anthropology in the Medical School (1895-1900), though continuing his professorial work in Dublin until 1900.

In 1898 came the opportunity which placed him in the foremost rank of pioneers in anthropology and ethnology—the organization and leadership of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits, the first scientifically planned investigation of its kind. With characteristic self-effacement he used to say that his claim to fame was that he had induced Dr. W. H. R. Rivers to accompany him (he had

already enlisted his two best pupils); thus were engendered the genealogical method, the scientific recording of string-figures, and (to quote Sir Arthur Keith in his address to the Royal Anthropological Institute in 1916) "the most progressive and profitable movement in the whole history of British Anthropology."

After the return of the expedition a memorandum was sent to the General Board of Studies in Cambridge, urging the widening of the scope of the existing lectureship in Physical Anthropology and the suitability of the appointment of Dr. Haddon to the new post. It ran:—

"It appears to us that in creating such a post as we have indicated for Professor Haddon, the University would not merely strengthen itself by adding to its staff a teacher, who by his wide knowledge and interests, his indomitable energy and his infectious enthusiasm would be likely to make Cambridge a centre of anthropological teaching and research; it would also perform a very gracious act in thus recognizing and rewarding services which have been rendered to it and to science from a disinterested love of knowledge, and at personal sacrifice which only those who know Professor Haddon's circumstances can appreciate."

The list of distinguished signatories includes many of his old teachers and of his contemporaries. The 'reward for services rendered' was 'recognized' by the appointment to a Lectureship with a stipend of £50 a year. Even after his College gave him a Fellowship (1901), much hard work was necessary to supplement this, with children growing up and needing education; and he was always ready to pay tribute to the devotion and self-sacrifice of his wife, who encouraged him in his work, however unremunerative. He would apologize for charging a small fee for some special course, given to a class sitting uncomfortably on packing cases in an odd corner of the Department of Pathology ('ectoparasitically' as he described it) on the ground that his wife 'wanted a new bonnet.' This was a period of great activity, with courses of lectures in London and elsewhere, including Canada and the United States. He did an enormous amount of writing and reviewing for newspapers and for scientific journals and was Reader to the Cambridge University Press for books connected with the many branches of his subject. Nothing but a full bibliography (and it is hoped that this will be available shortly) can give any idea of his labours, and only a few points can be mentioned here.



There were three great schemes (among others) on which he set his heart. His work in Torres Straits had convinced him that no time should be lost, or all information as to native life would vanish, and he drew up a plan for the survey of the Pacific. But it had to be abandoned owing to lack of financial support.

Meanwhile, he was fighting hard in Cambridge for the furtherance of anthropology there. He proposed the establishment of courses for men in the Colonial Service, a plan which did not win recognition until after the Great War. And he was steadily working to raise the status of anthropology to its rightful place among the sciences, which took longer still. The Board of Anthropological Studies was instituted in 1904; a Diploma by thesis in 1908 and a Diploma by examination in 1911. In 1909 the post of University Lecturer was converted into a Readership with a stipend of £200 a year; he held this post until 1926 and that of Emeritus Reader until his death. But it was not until 1933 that his long-cherished ambition of the establishment of a Professorship was gratified, too late, alas, to fulfil the wish of his friends that he should be the first Professor.

He had no selfish ambitions. Never was any man more generous of his time, his ideas, his work, sketches, photographs, books, and, as far as possible, of his money. He would hand over the accumulated work and notes of years to be turned into a paper or article by some novice whom he wished to help, disclaiming all credit. He undertook the editing of other people's books and wrote prefaces for them. He wrote reviews of obscure books (if he found worth in them) to help obscure authors. All this at the expense of his life work, the editing of the *Torres Straits Reports*, the completion of which was delayed until 1935.

The Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology is a permanent monument to his generosity, though it is not the only museum that has benefited by his far-seeing power of organization and careful attention to detail. He continually stressed the necessity of museums arranged on scientific lines to illustrate and supplement teaching, and many are the richer for his services. Before going to Dublin he was Curator of the Zoological Museum in Cambridge; he was attached to the Dublin Museum of Science and Art; and was Advisory Curator to

the Horniman Museum from its foundation. He acted as Deputy Curator to the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology several times and it was largely owing to him that, together with Dr. Rivers and a band of devoted volunteers, its unrivalled collections were taken from their packing cases and a working museum created for the use of students. He was made Honorary Curator of the New Guinea collections and put in an immense amount of time there, not only training and directing aspiring ethnologists, but doing a great deal of patient, careful work himself. After his retirement from the Readership, he enriched the Department first with his collection of skulls, next with his incomparable collection of lantern slides (in early days he made all these himself), and, lastly, with his collection of photographs. It was owing to him that the valuable and rather scrappy library attached to the Museum was arranged, classified, catalogued and made available for students. From that day onwards he continually enriched it from his own store of books and pamphlets. Now his books will be finally transferred to the Library which contains his portrait and appropriately bears his name.

Though best known for his work in Torres Straits, New Guinea and Borneo, his love of first-hand investigation took him into many other countries. Like Sir John Herbert (1665)

"He travel'd not with lucre sotted,

"He went for Knowledge and he got it."

He paid the first of many visits to Canada and the United States in 1884, studying biological museums and laboratories; his later visits were mainly lecture tours, but he found time for anthropological work and was present at ceremonies of the Skidi Pawnee in Oklahoma and of the Piegan Blackfoot in Montana. He went to South Africa in 1905; and again in 1914, on the way to Australia and (for the third time) to New Guinea. He toured a large part of Australia on the occasion of the Pan-Pacific Congress in 1923, when he represented Cambridge University and the Royal Society, and was President of the Anthropological Section. It is interesting to recall the letter of Alfred Russel Wallace (28.11.87) recommending the West Indies rather than Torres Straits for his first expedition: "You would be able to work in a comfortable house and with civilized surroundings." Neither was essential or even desired. "You can travel

"anywhere with a smile and a piece of string" was the Haddon motto (he had an unfailing store of both); but, he advised, "for the Fly River, 'add a few tins of salmon.'" With his piece of string 'our champion cat's-cradler' (as Andrew Lang called him) entertained Torres Straits islanders, Borneo princesses, the Katikoro of Buganda, and Indian braves, bringing back the spoil which he handed over to Mrs. Jayne to add to her sumptuous *String Figures* (1906), anticipating his daughter's *Cat's Cradles from many Lands* (1911) and *Artists in String* (1930). This explains one of the secrets of his success, "for who," says she, "could suspect of guile a 'man who sits among the children playing with 'a piece of string.'"

There must be few ethnographical museums in Europe as well as in Britain, that he did not visit, and his voluminous correspondence with ethnologists all over the world bears witness to his power of making friends wherever he went. Anyone following in his tracks still finds his name a password to friendship.

He was a corresponding or honorary member of the Anthropological Societies of Rome, Vienna and Berlin: of the Société Finno-Ougrienne (Helsinki) and the Societas Scientiarum Fennica: of the Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Letters, the New York Academy of Sciences, the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences, the New Zealand Institute, and the Indian Academy of Science, Bangalore. He was a member of Councils of the Royal Dublin Society, the Royal Anthropological Institute, and the Folklore Society, and served the two latter societies as well as the Cambridge Antiquarian Society as President. He was twice President of Section H of the British Association at Belfast (1902) and in South Africa (1905). He took his Sc.D. in 1897 and was elected to a Fellowship at Christ's College in 1901. He was a Fellow of the Cambridge Philosophical Society. He was chosen to give

the Conway Memorial Lecture in 1921, the Herbertson Memorial Lecture in 1927 and the Frazer lecture in Social Anthropology in 1929; and received from the Royal Anthropological Institute its Huxley Memorial Medal (1920) and the Rivers Memorial Medal (1924).

His seventieth birthday provided an opportunity for his friends to testify to the affection in which he was held. A dinner was given in Christ's College—the first occasion on which ladies dined in Hall—and three portraits painted by de Laszlo were presented, one for his College, one for the Museum, and one from the artist himself for his family. On his 80th birthday his friends gave him a cabinet and catalogue of his collection of some 10,000 photographs, a permanent record of his life's work and universal interests.

No man, said Madame de Sévigné, is a hero to his valet. One cannot picture Dr. Haddon with a valet, but he was far more than a hero to his secretaries and to all those who had the good fortune to work for or with him, and they can testify to the truth of Ridgeway's remark "Haddon has always been a great inspirer of 'other men.'" Many now distinguished in various branches of Anthropology all over the world are proud to call themselves his pupils and to acknowledge their indebtedness to him; while hordes of lesser folk might echo the words of one of those whom he inspired, "On reflection I find 'that anything I have done, worth doing, has 'been prompted by you.'"

NOTE.—Among Dr. Haddon's working collection of books, one irreplaceable volume is found to be missing. It is a large quarto book, bound in dark blue buckram, and lettered 'HADDON III.' It contains offprints of all his published work (other than books) between 1904 and 1915, and is indispensable for making his bibliography. Probably it has been lent without record; and the borrower is urgently asked to return it to his daughter, Mrs. Rishbeth, 3, Cranmer Road, Cambridge.

**A MOROCCAN TRIBAL SHRINE AND ITS RELATION TO A NEARBY TRIBAL MARKET.<sup>1</sup>** *By Walter Fogg, Department of Geography and Anthropology, Aberystwyth.*

**124** The shrine of Sidi l-Yemâni<sup>2</sup> (the šriḥ<sup>3</sup> from the Yemen), typical of many which characterize the countryside of Morocco, is located a few miles to the South-East of Azila, and near the new main road between Laraiche

and Tetuan, in the north-west part of the Spanish Zone of Morocco.

(i) Concerning the saint's origin, one tradition has it that he 'came from the East with Mîlâi 'Idris' the founder of the first Muhammadan dynasty of Morocco and another, that he was a *mujâhed* (fighter for the Islamic faith against

For footnotes <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup> and <sup>3</sup> see opposite page.

the infidel), who was buried . . . where he fell.<sup>4</sup> The *šiyid* (shrine) is on a low hillock which has a good spring near its base. It is a *ḥauš* (a roofless walled enclosure; in this case, some six feet high), and has within it a grave, marked by a mound of bare earth between low head- and foot-stones. The saint, whose body is believed to be in the grave, is also considered to be still alive. He is the patron saint (referred to either as *dāmen l-blād*, surety of the countryside, or as *mul le-blād*, master of the countryside) of the Bdawr *férqa*<sup>5</sup> of the *Hlot* tribe, for which reason, the Bdawr in particular, bury their dead in the ground immediately surrounding the *šiyid*, and also name many of their children after Sidi l-Yemāni. Neighbouring tribes, bury around their own patron saints. For example, Mzōra bury at Sidi Būnwar, 'Amar at Sidi Muḥammad l-Merbūwā, Bdāwa at Sidi l-rāiši. Burial near a *šiyid* ensures a mitigated punishment at the resurrection.

Every year, after wheat-harvest and threshing, i.e., about the end of July, an important *mūsem* (festival in honour of a saint, and held at his

shrine) is held at the *šiyid*. It attracts a very large number of the folk of the surrounding tribes (*Hlot*, *Tliq*, 'Amar, Mzōra, and Bdāwa, and even Bni Gūrfāt, and Bni 'Aroš), as well as people from the towns of El-Qsar, Laraiḥe, and Azila. They camp in the surrounding countryside, spending one night there, the *mūsem* lasting traditionally from about mid-afternoon of one day until the same time on the following day. In recent years, however, the *mūsem* has been extended for a second night expressly for the benefit of the Moorish soldiers housed in the large barracks nearby, and many of the local tribesmen profit from this to stay a second night. There is much dancing, feasting, powder-play, and entertainment by religious fraternities (Gnáwa, 'Esáwa, Jilāla, and Ḥmādša<sup>6</sup>; and by musicians; bullocks are slaughtered at the tomb, and many coins and other gifts such as wax candles, are left there to be collected by the *mqāddem* (warden) of the *šiyid*. As, in some of its features, the *mūsem* is like a weekly tribal market, it is always held on Thursday or Friday or Saturday, so as not to interfere with neighbouring tribal markets held, on Sunday (*soq l-ḥad l-Garbiya*), Tuesday (*soq t-ilāta d Jbel Ḥbib*), and Wednesday (*soq l-ārba'a d Aiaša*), nor with that held on Monday at Sidi l-Yemāni itself.

(ii) Around the *šiyid* is a large grove of old olive-trees, each of which has *baraka*,<sup>7</sup> both of itself and because of its proximity to the *šiyid*.

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed study of this market see:—Fogg, W. 'A Tribal Market in Spanish Morocco,' *Africa*, vol. xi, 4 (1938), wherein acknowledgments are made to my Moorish informants and to the late Professor Edward Westermarck; for the general importance of tribal markets in Moroccan native economy, see:—Fogg, W. 'The Importance of Tribal Markets in the Commercial Life of the Countryside of North-West Morocco,' *Africa*, vol. xii, 4 (1939).

<sup>2</sup> Transliteration of Arabic words is in accordance with the system used by Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, London, 1926, vol. i, pp. ix-xi.

<sup>3</sup> A *šrif* (plur. *šurfā*) is a man who can trace his descent from the prophet Muḥammad in the male line of his daughter Faṭimah.

<sup>4</sup> According to Michaux-Bellaire, E., and Salmon, G. 'Les Tribus Arabes de la Vallée du Lekkoûs *Archives Marocaines*, vol. vi, nos. iii-iv, p. 342, 'Il est probable que c'est un moudjahid: on raconte en effet que lorsque les chrétiens tiraient sur les musulmans, Sidi l-Yamany arrêta au passage les boulets avec sa main—et à l'appui de cette légende, on montre trois boulets de petit calibre dans l'intérieur du mur entourant le tombeau du saint.' Further, I was told that there is a local belief that a wadi nearby still flows 'like blood' because the Muhammadans fought the infidel Portuguese near its banks.

<sup>5</sup> A *férqa* is a 'quarter' or division of a tribe; there is no necessary blood relationship between its members. Each *férqa* has its own patron saint, and in addition, the whole tribe as a unit, has a general patron saint. In the case of the *Hlot* tribe, the latter is Sidi ben Qāsem l-Musbāhi, whose shrine is actually outside the tribal territory.

<sup>6</sup> The Gnāwa, chiefly negroes, both males and females, expel *jnun* (spirits) from afflicted people, and also worship *jnun*. Their ceremonies include dancing, the playing of certain musical instruments, and singing. (Westermarck, E. 'Ritual and Belief in Morocco,' London, 1926, vol. i, pp. 344-350; 379-381).

The 'Esāwa, males only, give curative performances similar to those of the Gnāwa, but use different musical instruments. They are snake-charmers, and are called in to cure snake-bite. (p. 349).

The Jilāla, males only, are devotees of Mūlāi Abdīqader j-Jilāli, whose shrine is in Bagdad. They give curative performances similar to those of the Gnāwa and 'Esāwa (p. 182 and p. 349).

The Ḥmādša, males only, give performances in which they dance to music, invoking the *jnun*, and end by chopping their heads with axes until the blood flows freely (pp. 203 and 393).

<sup>7</sup> The Arabic word *baraka* means 'blessing.' In Morocco it is used to denote a mysterious wonder-working force which is looked upon as a blessing from God, a 'blessed virtue.' It may be conveniently translated into English by the word 'holiness.' (See Westermarck, E., *l.c.*, vol. i, 1, p. 35.)

On three of these trees which overhang the spring, and on one at the *sīyid* itself, fragments of clothing are tied, as a means of making 'ār<sup>8</sup> on the saint. Further, near the entrance of the *ḥauš* there is a large and old palmetto, the leaves of which are knotted to make 'ār, the palmetto (according to some) having *baraka* of itself, quite apart from its proximity to the *sīyid*; while women put their hair-combings in this same palmetto when they want to get rid of a headache. The knotting of palmetto leaves is done if possible, by the left hand only, the 'ār being more successful when the knotting is done that way, than when both hands are used.

The grove as a whole has a further important significance: the last trees away from the *ḥauš* mark the boundary of the *ḥarm* (sanctuary area) of Sīdi l-Yemāni. Once within this area any refugee (*mzāug*), whatever his (or her) offence (murder, theft, etc.), can count on temporary security, as, having entered it, the refugee has thereby made 'ār on the saint. The *ḥūddam* (followers) of the saint, or the *mḡāddem* (warden) of the *sīyid*, or a *šrīf*, then act as intermediaries between the refugee (or his family) and the pursuers. Before the Spanish conquest, either the family of the refugee, or sympathetic passers-by, or the *ḥūddam* or the *mḡāddem*, would give him food until the intervenors had interviewed the pursuers and come to some arrangement with them. Consequently, an offender might stay in the *ḥarm* for weeks or even months. When terms had been agreed upon, the intervenors would give the refugee, as visible sign of their protection, some article of their clothing, or some object of theirs with religious significance, such as a rosary, and would accompany him (or her) to the *qāid*<sup>9</sup> or *šēih*<sup>9</sup> as the case required. The *qāid* or *šēih* would then send for the offended person, or representatives of the offended family, and ask them to forgive the culprit for the sake of the saint. This they dared not refuse, for fear of the effects of the saint's anger, and by payment of an agreed sum of money and/or goods, the affair would be settled. The power of the *ḥarm* to exclude pursuers was very great,

as it was believed that those who had not respected it would have great misfortune due to the anger of the saint; their livestock would die, the offender himself would soon die, or get a serious malady, or great misfortune would befall him. Moreover, if, as occasionally happened in the heat of passion, a pursuer did enter the *ḥarm* and attack a refugee, the *ḥūddam* seized him and punished him as they thought fit, the punishment often ending in death. Now, the power of the *ḥarm* is of only very short duration, however, as the Spaniards have forbidden the giving of food to any refugee within it. Consequently, he is soon starved into emerging, whereupon he is caught by waiting soldiers (*āskar*) and punishment for his offence settled under the supervision of the District Commissioner. The *ḥarm* is considered so inviolable, that no-one dares even to cut a switch from the trees; animals hit with such, will surely die: and no-one will even collect firewood in the grove, so great is the fear of misfortune following on its burning.

(iii) The spring, an '*ain n-nšor* (haunted spring), is also an '*ain mamūna* (safe spring) as opposed to an '*ain meskūna* (spring haunted by evil spirits). It is Sīdi l-Yemāni's *ḥamma* (a place haunted by Muhammadan *jnun* over whom he rules), and in it there used to be water-tortoises, leeches, eels, and frogs. Now, for hygienic reasons, the spring has been cleaned out, and covered in, and the water is led by conduit to feed a drinking fountain at the market site nearby. Therefore, some of the practices cited hereafter are no longer observed. The tortoises, known as *mwālīn l-'ain* (masters of the spring), were considered to be good spirits, i.e., Muhammadan *jnun*, and a visitor would throw to them pieces of bread as an offering and means of making 'ār, saying at the same time, *Hāda 'ār 'alik a sīdi l-Yemāni*, followed by the uttering under his (or her) breath of the wish he (or she) wanted fulfilled. The leeches were considered to be holy; if applied to the body to eliminate pain, they would be more effective than leeches taken from an ordinary spring. As to the eels any one of them might be the saint himself, for saints often assume this form; if an eel struck with its head one of the pieces of bread thrown on the water in making 'ār, it meant that one's wish would surely be fulfilled. The frogs, although not holy of themselves, might be inhabited by the *mwālīn l-'ain*. A diseased

<sup>8</sup> Making 'ār is the transference of a conditional curse. It is resorted to when it is desired to get rid of disease, or to achieve the fulfilment of some wish (i.e. ch. x).

<sup>9</sup> For an account of his general functions at the market, see Fogg, W., *Africa*, vol. xi, 4 (1938).

person, on his (or her) way to the *sîyid* to get relief, would wash hands, face, feet and lower part of the legs, at the spring, saying at the same time, *Nšart fel 'ain u hállits l-bäs diáli tsemma*, (I have washed my extremities in the water, and have left my affliction there). A healthy person, on the other hand, would wash only on the way back from the *sîyid*, and then with a different motive, to derive general benefit from the *baruka* of the holy spring.

Sacrifices of fowl, goats, or sheep, were made at the spring. This was done to drive out evil *jnun* living in people and thereby causing them to be ill, and was done at the spring because this was haunted by Muhammadan *jnun*, who could there be better prevailed upon to influence the evil spirit dwelling in the afflicted person's body to emerge. The sacrifice was accompanied by the same words, *Hâda 'âr 'alik a sîdi l-Yemâni*, followed by the wish, as above. When any of the wishes made at the spring were fulfilled, some blood-sacrifice, particularly a sheep for a woman's wish, was made as recognition. This was made at the *sîyid*, for whether the *'âr* was made at the spring or at the *sîyid*, it was always *'âr* on the saint.

(iv) Further, there are sacrifices at the *sîyid* itself. In making *'âr* on the saint at the *sîyid*, very often a fowl, a goat, a sheep, or even a bullock is killed. This is done at the threshold of the *haus*, so that some of the blood shall flow over the entrance step, while some of the spurting blood is caught in a vessel and poured on the grave itself. The slaying is done by the person making *'âr*, if a man, or (for a woman), by any male relative or friend who knows how to kill, or by the *mqâddem* of the *sîyid*; it is never done by a woman, as by Muhammadan custom, flesh killed by a woman is tainted and therefore cannot be offered even to a man, much less to a saint. Before the animal's throat is cut, the following is said: *Bismillâh, allâhu akbar, hâda 'âr 'alik a sîdi l-Yemâni* (In the name of God, God is great, this is *'âr* on Sîdi l-Yemâni). Then the throat is cut and the wish made silently as the blood is spurting forth.

Besides making *'âr*, oaths are made. This is known as making *'ahd*. The *'ahd* or *'ahad*, consists of "a solemn promise, or an act implying "a promise, by which he who makes the promise "or performs the act, is believed to expose himself "to supernatural danger in case of bad faith. "A method of making a promise very binding is "to establish bodily contact with the promisee,

"whereby the promiser exposes himself to the "latter's conditional curse." (Westermarck, *l.c.* vol. i, pp. 564-5.) This contact is frequently achieved by joining the right hands, as below.

At Sîdi l-Yemâni *'ahd* is made in the following way. The two parties sit each on one side of the grave, with some bread on the grave itself. They then give each other a little bread, eat it, and afterwards, across the grave, join their right hands so that the fingers of one hand go between the fingers of the other, saying at the same time: *Hâda l-'ahd bēni wa bēnek ma nqûl ši sérrek* (this is *'ahd* between me and thee, I shall not tell thy secret). Such oaths may be by private arrangement between two individuals; for example, not to reveal to a third person what they know, or have agreed upon: or, in a dispute at the market nearby (for example, accusation of theft) the accuser and accused may be ordered to make a declaration of truthfulness in the name of Sîdi l-Yemâni, whereupon both go to the *sîyid* accompanied by a *muhâzni* (guard-messenger).

In the past, moreover, a *sîyid* was the scene of the important ceremony of making *'ahd* between the representatives of two tribes when making peace after an inter-tribal war. After *šurfâ* had acted as intervenors and carried on the necessary preliminaries, the notables of the two tribes would meet at the *sîyid* agreed upon, as has happened at Sîdi l-Yemâni, and would first exchange *slâhem* (sing. *sêlham*) (outermost garment; known as burnous elsewhere than in Morocco) and then eat bread and dried figs over the grave, in the manner outlined above. Similarly, although within the experience of my informant this has not actually taken place at Sîdi l-Yemâni (because the character of the surrounding ground makes it less suitable for the gathering of such a large number of men and horses than some other shrines of the tribe) a *sîyid* was a frequent assembly-place of the whole tribe for a *jema'a d l-qabila* (meeting of the whole tribe). For example, when an attack on a neighbouring tribe was being decided and planned; when the tribe wished to be rid of its *qâid*, and wished to make arrangements for a letter of protest to be written to the Sultan, and to select notables to represent it at the Sultan's court; and, in the rarer case, when revolt against the very authority of the Sultan was being planned. My informant Sîdi Ahmed, has been present at two such assemblies, *i.e.*, when the



Hlot tribe was planning attacks on the Garbiya and on the Bni Gurfāt tribes respectively. Sometimes, the meeting would be held at some other kind of place: for example, a river bank, the summit of a well-known hill, or near a village.

(v) From the foregoing, the great importance in the general tribal life, of the *sīyid*, the grove, and the spring, will have emerged, and also their general significance for the market nearby. It still remains however to summarize their particular importance in relation to the market. The spring has always been the water-supply for the large number of men and animals congregated at the market, but as a holy spring with water possessing *baraka*, there has always been more satisfaction in using it than mere quenching of thirst, or cleansing of the body. There are present at the market Muhammadan *jnun* who, along with the living *šūrfa* present, confer general *baraka* by their mere presence, but the proximity to the *sīyid* means that the market is under the special blessing and protection of Sidi l-Yemāni as well, since he always walks about the market invisible, or in the form of a visitor. His *baraka* in particular, along with that of any living *šūrfa*, and of the Muhammadan *jnun* present, protects vendors and buyers from the direct influences of the harmful *jnun*<sup>10</sup> at the market. It helps also to ensure the peace of the market through the general restraint people feel in the knowledge of its presence. Moreover, Sidi l-Yemāni himself prevents from entering the bodies of visitors evil *jnun* who might make them quarrel and perhaps begin a general fight which, in the past, might lead to the break-up of the market and the consequent temporary break-down of security of life and property, with possible continuance on a more widespread scale afterwards. The presence of so much *baraka* means also, that besides being protected, visitors definitely profit through having been to the market; their buying and selling is lucky for them, since anything bought at the market is likely to contain more *baraka* than if

<sup>10</sup> For an account of some of the beliefs concerning the *jnun* at the market, see Fogg, W., 'Beliefs and Practices at, or in relation to, a Moroccan Tribal Market,' *Folklore*, vol. LI. 1940 (June).

bought elsewhere; e.g., if by chance, grain has been bought from a saint, it may be found to have increased greatly in quantity after having been stored. Their health and happiness may become better for having been, and will certainly not be worse than when they went; they return to their home with general benefit from being within the influence of the saint's *baraka*, and even from merely having trodden on the market terrain. The latter has *baraka* in itself, its site having been chosen by, and then consecrated by, a living *šrif* at its inception as a market-place, and having been trodden by many holy men and Muhammadan *jnun* at every market held there since then. On the creation of a new market, it is the custom for a *šrif* to choose the site and afterwards to make a blood-sacrifice at the new site, thereby sanctifying it, and it is believed that all markets, the knowledge of the beginnings of which have been lost in the mists of time, have been inaugurated in this way.

Again, because of the *sīyid*, there is more inducement to visit the market than mere buying and selling, social intercourse, and amusement; bodily and mental healing can be combined with these. Further, there are the very direct influences of the *sīyid* as a place where agreements made at the market may be consolidated, and where oaths may be imposed in settlement of disputes; and, perhaps most important of all in the past, if less so now, there was the knowledge of the certain sanctuary afforded by the olive grove surrounding the *sīyid*, should a personal enemy attack one in the market; if one had the misfortune to commit a crime at the market and be found out; if the market broke up through the outbreak of a general fight, perhaps due to pursuance of blood-feud at the market; and so on. This was a very justifiable fear; within Sidi Ahmed's experience, there have been many stabbing cases at the nearby market; he saw three men killed during an outbreak at the neighbouring Sunday market of the Garbiya tribe; and Sidi 'Abdsslam saw, on one occasion, nine men killed through blood-feud at the Thursday market of the An <sup>d</sup>jra tribe.

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE : PROCEEDINGS.

Techniques of the Interview. Summary of a communication by Alec Rodger, M.A. 28 May, 1940.

Interviewers' techniques must be largely de-

pendent on their aims. Four common aims of interviewers are: (1) fact collecting, (2) opinion collecting, (3) fact offering, (4) opinion offering. Interviews rarely fit neatly into one of the cate-



gories suggested by these objectives, but some can be regarded as belonging predominantly to one of them. The lawyer's inquisition is mainly of the first type; the interview of the canvasser of the British Institute of Public Opinion belongs mainly to the second type; an interview given by a clerk in travel agency is essentially of the third type; while many interviews of the minister of religion are principally of the fourth type.

The vocational guidance interview contains elements of all four. Its first stages are fact-collecting and opinion-collecting; that is, they are investigatory. Its last stages are fact-offering and opinion-offering; that is, they are advisory. Although the vocational adviser's principal interviews are with those who seek his advice, he frequently checks and supplements the data obtained in them by interviews with others, e.g., parents. In the investigatory stages of all these interviews he finds it important (1) to have a plan of attack, (2) to be informal in manner, (3) to refrain from criticism, and (4) to formulate his questions carefully. A written questionnaire, completed before an interview, often provides an excellent basis for conversation.

Both in his questionnaires and in his interview, he finds it worth while to make extensive use of the 'paired comparison' technique of collecting opinions. For example, instead of asking, 'Do you think you would like an office job?' he may ask, 'Do you think you would prefer an office job to one on a farm, or not?'; and, instead of asking 'What do you think of your young brother?' he may ask, 'Are you and your brother like each other in some ways (in your interests, and so on), or are you rather different?' The value of this procedure in opinion-collecting can scarcely be exaggerated.

In the advisory stages (that is, the fact-offering and opinion-offering stages) of his interview, the vocational adviser aims at encouraging the individual who seeks his advice to formulate his own opinions. The advice which most people heed most is the advice they give themselves; the vocational adviser's final aim is to act on belief in this principle. He attempts to systematize the available relevant data in such a way that sound conclusions become inevitable.

**Some Aspects of Uganda Prehistory.** *Summary*  
**126** of a communication by E. J. Wayland, late  
Director, Geological Survey, Uganda. 11 June  
1940.

The prehistory of Uganda provides a vast and many-sided study; this communication deals with the geological aspect, and would emphasize methods rather than results. The paper illustrates Uganda's position with regard to Lake Victoria, the high importance of that vast sheet of water—now the size of Ireland and once much larger, as the physical basis of a great culture centre—and the investigations into the history of the lake basin, and of areas beyond it, undertaken by Mr. Wayland and his colleagues during the last twenty years. The prehistoric beaches are of three types: stepped,

sloping, and superimposed. These record both falls and rises of the Lake, and can be correlated with a similarly three-type series of accumulations in certain river valleys. The ancient deposits (fault-sliced and otherwise) of the rift-valley depressions, particularly those of Lake Albert, are noted, and the effects of important earth movements which had been impressed upon them are echoed in the terraces of rivers within the affected zone.

Turning to problems of interpretation, Mr. Wayland spoke of a series of special inquiries lately undertaken to this end by Professor C. van Riet Lowe and himself, and in this regard expressed great indebtedness to the Uganda Government, the Sladen trustees, and the Geological Society of London (Gloyne fund). These inquiries, which are to be published in a two-volume Memoir, by the Geological Survey of Uganda, were brought to a somewhat premature close by the outbreak of the present war. Some sixty square miles of extremely important topographical mapping on scales of 1:10,000, 1:2,500 and 1:1,000 was undertaken by an expert; previously started excavations were finished and others nearly completed, totalling in all about 7,000 cubic yards (apart from rock shelter and cave diggings). Existing stone-age collections were enlarged and the entire assemblage was critically studied by Professor Lowe. Fossil remains were recovered from ancient land surfaces, now buried, and much new information was gathered.

Because Uganda is a tiny portion of a large continent and is too small to contain all the elements necessary to the interpretation of the Protectorate's prehistory, a much larger area had to be selected for this purpose. One of 250,000 square miles was taken. This area, of which Entebbe is very roughly the centre, is not too large to be manageable and large enough to rule out the often deceptive results of local effects, and it may be used as a unit area for comparison with and reference to other parts of Africa. It was shown that quite different agents can produce similar effects in, say, a sedimentation series, so that one observer will see in them the results of climatic change, another will see no such change but the effects of earth-movement instead, while a third is unable to admit either, and relies for interpretation on vicissitudes common to many rivers. Hence the necessity of adopting the principle of multiple hypotheses and of a field over which the consequences of each hypothesis can be checked.

In this field, long-continued work, fraught from time to time with disconcerting contradictions, has brought to convergence a number of diverse lines of evidence, and has revealed the past existence of protracted wet and dry periods in the prehistoric past of much of Africa. Three main wet periods (so-called 'pluvials') have emerged, and they and the shorter moist phases which have succeeded them have conformed to the principle of diminishing returns. They have been separated by dry periods which seem to display a similar conformation. These events carry us from Late Pliocene times to the present day.

If the determination of past climates is beset

with difficulty, the problem of their genesis and meteorological significance is more so. During the 'glacials' and 'interglacials' in Africa there were 'glacials' and 'interglacials' in the higher latitudes. These have called forth an amazing amount of ingenious explanations, and of the hundred or so 'explanations' of the Ice Age which have been given, not one, alone, appears to be complete. To-day, as ever, there are two main factors in world climates: the secular and the extra-terrestrial; any great variation in either will call forth meteorological response, in accordance with physical laws controlled in their operation by the shape and movements of the earth, the inclination of its axis and its relation to the sun. The resulting climatic zones are interdependent, and Mr. Wayland declared his inability to believe in a miracle permitting of glacial periods in the higher latitudes at the same time as a state of 'no change' in the tropics.

Commenting upon profitless attacks upon a position he had never maintained (in spite of statements of certain writers to the contrary) he

said that while we were in no position yet to put forward with assurance any detailed correlation between the prehistoric climates of, say, Europe and Uganda, it is no longer dangerous to suggest that such may exist, for we have reached the stage of correlating factors that make for correspondence between glacials and pluvials, and there is reason to hope that a soundly based glacio-pluvial correlation is almost within sight. Such a correlation used in conjunction with the growing body of palaeontological fact, and our ever increasing knowledge of stone age cultures in Uganda, and other parts of East and Central Africa, together with past physiographic settings would prove invaluable to the prehistorian.

**Annual General Meeting: 25th June, 1940.**

**127** After the adoption of the Council's Report and the Accounts for the past year, and the election of Officers and Council, the President, Professor A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, gave an address 'On Social Structure,' which will be printed in full in the *Journal*.

## REVIEWS.

### ARCHAEOLOGY.

**Studies on the Ice Age in India and associated Human Cultures.** By H. de Terra and T. T. Paterson.

**128** Washington, Carnegie Institution, 1939. No. 493: xii + 354 pp., vi plates, 193 figures in text.

The volume, beautifully produced, deals essentially with the Pleistocene geology of south-western Kashmir and of the north-west Punjab, to which 312 of the 354 pages are devoted: the remainder are given to the Narbada valley (Central India), the vicinity of Madras, and to stone-age sites on the Lower Indus (Sukkur and Rohri). It is obvious therefore that the title of the book must not be taken literally, the final sections being rather disconnected appendices. Rather more than three-quarters of the text have been provided by the senior author, who was revisiting and extending the ground of his earlier and important tectonic studies of the Himalaya. Dr. Teilhard de Chardin spent some weeks with the expedition, which was accompanied by members of the Geological Survey of India and of other institutions. The field-work was spread over the period March to December 1935.

The treatment of the field evidence is based on geological principles, and implements found *in situ* are dated by such considerations, rather than the deposits by the implements. The succession of glacials and interglacials is not correlated with the series of Penck and Brückner, nor is the differentiation of European typology applied to the implements. The older industries are referred simply to the 'Chellean' (of former days), Acheulean; flakes and flake industries are usually given no title; some are called Levalloisian and placed in a culture group with its own name (Soan).

Geology and prehistory are objectively and not subjectively considered, and the policy is sound and refreshing. To the reviewer the whole of the above treatment, and the caution that it implies, seem admirable, and the work is not impaired by rash correlations with distant areas.

In the vast array of observation and deduction, sum-

maries are provided here and there, but a succinct statement of the primary conclusions is not easy to find. The very numerous and, on the whole, clear text-figures, with the descriptive text, will make the volume invaluable in the field, not only for following what was done, but for applying these studies to adjacent areas. Moreover, three coloured maps, presumably based on the magnificent topographical maps of the Survey of India, and many other details will make possible precise identification of features in years to come. The bibliography is a valuable adjunct, and the index, which runs to 14 pages, is sufficient indication of the care that has been devoted to the publication. The volume is a milestone in the progress of Pleistocene geology in Northern India; the notes on the Pleistocene in Peninsular India supplement the work of earlier authors and reveal the wealth of material available there.

Although it is impossible, in the space available, to summarize the numerous conclusions at which the authors have arrived, a few of them may be reviewed. Thus it has been stated above that the work is dominated by geological observations: where they are based on superposition, visible eroded surfaces and unconformities, and sometimes associated fauna and flora, the authors will carry geologists with them. It appears, however, that much use has been made of physiographical features, and to the reviewer some of these are a little unconvincing: such features are notoriously difficult to illustrate and an eye of faith is required. That vision comes from experience of a terrain but is none the less hard to convey to others. Baulig, de Martonne, Garwood, and others have pointed out the difficulty of correlating lateral rock-platforms and rock-steps—i.e., erosional features—with vestiges of lateral, ground, and terminal moraines, not to mention river terraces below one or more of the rock-steps or moraines: here again familiarity with the ground may allow of conclusions which readers of a text find difficult to follow.

The river terraces themselves seem to be constructive features, polygenetic, with changing and sometimes considerable thicknesses of beds upon various foundations. The nature of their upper surface is perhaps hard to determine, though often enough a flood plain left high and dry, and usually truncated by the down-cutting of the main channel: some seem to be truncated alluvial fans. The authors correctly observe that such changes of the rivers' behaviour may be governed by many factors, and in the regions with which the volume chiefly deals they have proved that tectonic processes, tilting, folding and faulting, have continued through Pleistocene times. The 'time-value' of such terraced accumulations is therefore most difficult to assess.

For the above and other reasons the reviewer feels that deductions based on physiography may not conform to the limitations which have been described, for example, by Douglas Johnson.

The following conclusions are of outstanding interest. In Kashmir evidence was found of four glaciations, each multiple, with marked intervals between them; there was differential movement. In the Potwar (between Kashmir Himalaya and the Salt Range) there are 15,000 feet or more of Siwalik (Neogene to Pleistocene) sands, gravels, and shales, with a break at the base of the Pleistocene beds; enormous erratics occur, which are considered to be the products of glacial conditions and catastrophic floods. Peneplaned surfaces occur, and again differential movement is recognized. Palaeolithic implements occur in the younger beds, with faunal remains. The accumulation of boulder conglomerate was followed by the cutting of four terrace-platforms and the accumulation of terrace-gravels and silt. Palaeolithic implements occur here and there through this geological series. It is concluded that there were four pluvials in the plains and four glacials, of climatic value, superimposed on the structural changes.

Flake and pebble industries (Soan) seem to have developed parallel with the Abbevillian-Acheulean cultures in the Punjab.

The reconnaissance of the Narbada valley, Central India, 600 miles south of the Siwaliks, produced a geological sequence with fauna and Palaeolithic implements, but there is as yet insufficient evidence to couple this (probably incomplete) sequence with the succession in the Punjab. In Madras also implements seem to be abundant and a succession of terrace deposits and lateritic gravels can be made out. Both these regions are obviously worth further study, since the climatic changes can probably be made out without the aid of structural movements so strikingly : K. S. S.

**The Oxford University Excavations at Firka.** By L. P. Kirwan. Oxford University Press, 1939. xiv + 54 pp., 26 plates. Price 28s.

129 Very cold in the winter, very hot in the summer, the reaches of the Nile between Wadi Halfa and Kerma are curiously fascinating. For about 300 kilometres the river is unbroken except at high Nile, owing to the long, straight, arid tract. Kitchener's military railway which ran along the east side was worn out and under sentence, when I first visited the country in 1903, and until the coming of the motor, communications were as bad as they could be: the dervishes had cut down most of the palm trees, the male population had scattered to find a livelihood elsewhere, and water was the only commodity which one could count on finding. But it is a clean, bracing region, which has stimulated people to spasmodic activity at various periods, and between-whiles the dwellers have been too few, or too lethargic, to use up all that their predecessors had left. Consequently

a large number of remains of different date have survived in this desolate area. The book before us is concerned with some remains from one of the lesser known of these monuments.

*The Oxford University Excavations at Firka* is very properly dedicated to the memory of that great pioneer, Francis Llewellyn Griffith, the more so as the expedition was planned and largely financed by his widow, Norah Griffith. The work was admirably carried out and it has been beautifully presented. The period in question, roughly the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., is one which appeals to few Egyptologists: Mr. Kirwan is one of the few, and he is an authority and judgment.

The material comes from some great tumuli at two places about midway between Wadi Halfa and Kerma. The principal burials had been robbed, but enough was found in secondary burials on the mounds to throw clear light on the period to which they belong. The people were the successors of the Meroites; the Meroitic script had fallen into disuse; much of the Meroitic culture, however, still survived in a slightly altered form as well as many of the customs, human sacrifice of the suttee type among them. Camels, horses, cattle, and dogs were buried with the dead, besides his concubines and slaves. With one of the camels was a camel saddle, and over it a linen cloth with a scroll border of vine leaves and tendrils. A few silver vessels and rings, masses of bronze bowls and other utensils, bells, beads, earthenware, glass and iron were found. Including several things which had clearly been imported from Egypt. The material culture is a local variety of the culture which overflowed from the Roman Empire to adjoining countries at the time when paganism was giving way to Christianity in the more advanced centres of civilization; there is extremely little that is specifically Egyptian about it, and certainly nothing that the people may have been negroid in the latter part of a house of the period were found at Firka; the walls built of mud-brick were plastered and painted inside with bright colours, like contemporary houses on the shores of the Mediterranean.

So far as can be determined at present, the special local archaeological group, to which these graves belong, is the X-group, or Asswan in the north to the Gebel Barkal district in the south. It was first recognized by Reisner and called by him the X-group; the richest cemeteries of the group that have been found lie just north of the Sudan frontier, at Balāḥa and Qostol, excavated but unpublished. Who the people were, is discussed by Mr. Kirwan in a chapter called 'The problem of the Nubian X-group.' Mr. Kirwan rightly, I think, refuses to identify them either with the Blemmyes, or with the Nobatae of Diocletian's time, and regarding the people as a mixture of Meroites with Nuba tribes from the south (perhaps the Red Nuba of the south of Aezanas) would call the culture X-group. Obviously we cannot go on using the term X, but why not call both culture and people simply 'Nubian,' or 'Pagan-Nubian' if it be desired to distinguish them from the later 'Christian-Nubian' culture and people? The latter probably differed little in ethnic character.

The volume includes well-documented appendices on 'The early history of the Blemmyes' and 'The nature of Nubian Christianity.' J. W. CROWFOOT.

**The Archaeology of the Channel Islands. II. The Bailiwick of Jersey.** By Jaquetta Hawkes. Jersey: Société Jerseyaise. 320 pp., text-figures 92, 12 plates, map. Price 25s.

130 The bailiwick of Jersey comprises a rocky island some 48 square miles in extent, with adjacent islets of negligible size. It says something, therefore, for the

enthusiasm of its inhabitants that the Société Jersiaise has been able to finance this substantial volume devoted to its prehistoric archaeology. Much of the spade-work in its preparation was done by Mr. T. D. Kendrick, the concluding volume of whose original conception—*The Archaeology of the Channel Islands*—it forms. By choosing Mrs. Hawkes to fill the rôle of author, Mr. Kendrick has displayed his usual skill, for her past work has fitted her to a pre-eminent degree for the task in hand. Her cave experience in Palestine has made her sympathetic to one of Jersey's chief glories, the Cotte de Brelade, while her own distinguished researches into the Neolithic pottery of France have equipped her to deal with the megalithic backbone of the island's pre-history. She has succeeded admirably in mastering detail, arranging it, and rendering it easily accessible. But she has done more. She has sensed to the full the fascination of island history, which, while geographically defined, must be studied (as British archaeologists are now fortunately aware) from an any but insular standpoint. In this way, while conscientiously documenting the minutiae of Jersey pre-history, she has set the island in perspective in relation to western Europe as a whole, in a way that a purely local worker could hardly have achieved.

But Mrs. Hawkes would be the first to say that her work is mainly a summary achievement on the part of the Society, under whose auspices the present volume appears. She is perhaps unduly pessimistic when she expressed fears for the future of her book; for such is the present state of the island that far more of the volume than the part labelled 'Descriptive' is of this nature. Here she is further indebted to local help, for most of the illustrations, which in a volume of this kind are in many ways as important as the text, are the work of the joint honorary secretaries of the society. Major N. V. L. Rybot's series of bold line-drawings are, indeed, the feature which first strike the eye; for pottery and metal objects his skill is quite outstanding. No less admirable are

the plates prepared from Mr. Emile F. Guitron's photographs.

Difficulties inherent in co-operation from a distance perhaps account for certain deficiencies in editing. The numbering of illustrations is often confusing, thus the same number may refer to figures on different pages, sometimes requiring distinguishing letters and necessitating an algebraic formula when referring to an individual specimen (e.g., fig. 4 B c); in many cases also (e.g., figs. 5, 6, 13, 18) the individual items lack numbers and have to be identified by cumbersome underlines. The insertion of the scale into the section of a bronze or a worked flint is not to be commended (e.g., figs. 4, 15, etc.). A further source of irritation is the variety of convention adopted for pot-profiles, sometimes even in the same figure (e.g., fig. 30). The appearance of many pages is ruined by large areas of solid black (e.g., pp. 36, 37, 59, 157). The map is curiously incomplete: where, for instance, is the Grosnez Hougue or the Blanchés Banques (Les Mielles) midden? The volume is undated.

The bulk and price of the book are too large. The standard was doubtless set by the Guernsey volume, and the reviewer in no wise reflects on the author. Nevertheless, it is an outstanding example of what one can only term the 'ferocious edition' in British book publishing, and this at a time of economic stress, when copyright libraries have to find room for 2,500 feet of books a year! Careful editing could have reduced the cost substantially and have made it easier to consult; many figures could have been reduced (e.g., figs. 7, 8, 15, 20, 22, 28-30, 66, etc.) and some excluded (e.g. fig. 53); at least two of the plates could have been as well rendered in line drawings; the map could have been printed at the same scale on one page, and the text could have been reduced by tabulation and setting of detail in a smaller type, particularly in Part IV. But such is the excellence of the book that the tax will be paid widely and without undue complaint. Yet the reviewer wonders how much longer economic conditions will nourish the illusions of publishers. J. G. D. CLARK.

#### GENERAL.

**The Past and Future of Ethics.** By M. A. R. Tucker. London University Press, 1938. 496 pp. Price 21s.

**131** This is a noteworthy book, distinguished for its erudition, courage, dignity and beauty of exposition. It does not traverse the ground covered in professional ethical treatises, which in recent times have been concerned mainly with the epistemological analysis of moral judgments, but makes a direct attack on the concrete problems of the moral life by tracing their psychological and biological roots. It deals with the relations between the sexes, with the problems of property and economic organization, with the role of force and domination in social and political organization, with the relations between law, morals, and religion; and on all these topics it brings to bear, not only a wide knowledge of comparative morals, but a profound insight into personal and social relations. The basis of moral experience the author finds in the maternal impulses and especially in sympathy, and he presents this doctrine which is not new to British moral psychology, with vigour and subtlety. But as a complete theory of the psychological basis of morals it does not carry conviction. For if sympathy is one root of morals, it is not the only one. The author himself lays stress on the sense of justice, self-respect, personal responsibility and the love of honour, and though these in many ways depend on sympathy they are not constituted by it. The part played by reason in morals is

not adequately discussed, and its relation to feeling and impulse is not examined. The author seems to identify reason with cold processes of ratiocination, but surely reason does not operate in an emotional vacuum, and if reason is so powerless as is here suggested, how is it that men feel compelled to justify their actions to themselves and others by appealing to rational principles? Indeed, sympathy itself is apt to be narrow and blind without imagination, without the power, partly emotional, partly intellectual, of transferring one's self to the other's point of view, and without the capacity of grasping the more remote and impersonal bearings of the actions of individuals and institutions. Again, if it be true, as the author so powerfully argues, that one of the greatest obstacles to the civilizing of the human spirit has been obscurantism, how is this obstacle to be removed if not by criticism and rational enlightenment? It is true that reason has so far not been successful in making morality rational and that its influence is still very restricted, but this is equally true of sympathy which has only very gradually extended its range, and it is arguable that this extension of range has in part depended on the growth of imaginative insight, and that, in any case, the narrower the experience and the lower the grade of intelligence, the greater the opportunity afforded to mutual suspicion, fear and ill-will. In short, the relations between impulse, emotion, and reason seem to require fuller investigation than is here

given to them; and that the ends of desire cannot be dis severed from rational insight, and not only need but permit of rational analysis is shown by the author himself in his discussions of the ends or functions of marriage, the family, property, and government.

To the anthropologist perhaps the most impressive part of the work is that devoted to the analysis of the relations between men and women, and especially the view that male domination has been a serious obstacle to moral development; though many will criticize the author's acceptance of the hypothesis of primitive promiscuity and his description of the position of women in matrilineal societies. He makes a powerful appeal for real sex-equality and for the weakening of the bonds of the family in so far as the relations between parents and adult children are concerned, and he stresses the need of encouraging and developing the non-sexual love relationships. No reference is made to the doctrines, but it is to be presumed that the distinction here drawn between love and sex would run counter to a theory which tends to bring all forms of attraction under the one category of the *libido*.

While the discussion of property is illuminating, the criticism of socialism follows more conventional lines. It neglects the social element in economic values, and the difficulty of basing any ethical distribution on a precise estimate of what individuals earn. The author sympathizes strongly with the ideal of equalizing distribution, but he does not appear to realize that such equalization can hardly be secured without a great deal of social control over industry. The treatment of the role of force, domination, and war is of great interest, though the author's tendency to ascribe many of the evils of civilization to sheer male dominance occasionally leads him to over-simplification, as when he asserts that the love of war is "nothing but the running amok of 'the rivalry of sex.'"

Of the future, the author takes an optimistic view. "The future path of mankind will certainly be the path of liberty, responsibility and individualism" (p. 377). Since the work provides no theory of social change it would be interesting to know on what grounds this prediction is based.

MORRIS GINSBERG.

**Nationalism: A Report by a Study Group of Members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.** Oxford Univ. Press, 1939. xx + 360 pp. Price 12s. 6d.

This treatise on Nationalism has been drawn up by nine members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Professor E. H. Carr serving as chairman and Mr. M. G. Balfour as secretary. The authors were also assisted by 'Suggestions and Comments' from thirty-two other students of national affairs; so the book now published may be accepted as an authoritative exposition of the present English way of regarding nationalism. The question which the study group set out to answer was this:—Why is it that the division of Europeans into nations, which was regarded by the nineteenth century as 'natural and desirable' is being condemned by the twentieth century as 'the root of 'all our ills'?' This book contains the results of its systematic inquiries. A sentence in the concluding chapter may be taken as the final verdict of the Study Group:—"It may be said that to condemn nationalism as the cause of our present discontent is just as absurd as to exalt the nation into the permanent unit of society, possessing absolute and eternal values of its own. We have to take the nation as a fact and help to harmonize divergencies and diminish the extent and frequency of resort to violence."

It may be added that the Study Group reject the possibility of a universal state, regarding 'universal tyranny' as the most probable form such a government would assume.

What has Anthropology to do with nations and nationalism? British and American colleagues would reply that nations are no concern of theirs; they are interested only in races and as all modern nations are made up of racial mixtures, they are, from a biological point of view both artificial and negligible. This being the point of view adopted by my colleagues, one infers that they also presume, since pure races have ceased to exist in Europe, that the evolution of racial varieties in Europe has also come to an end; that the European, in a physical and racial sense, has ceased to evolve and has become fossilized. Such, too, are the opinions of the authors of the present treatise on *Nationalism*. For them a nation is a 'political unit,' created and held together by a central government. The modern nation, they hold, began to 'emerge' at the end of the middle ages; England led the way; France followed soon after; their example was copied by the rest of Europe, and now the epidemic of nationalism is spreading into Asia. New nations have arisen in the Americas, Australia, and New Zealand. Europe, it seems, had to wait until the nineteenth century for a proper understanding of

"provided the theoretical foundations upon which alone the nationalism of the nineteenth century could be built." I may say now, that Rousseau's theory was but a codification of tribal practice, as seen in Nature.

It seems to me unfortunate that the authors of *Nationalism* did not include in their number an anthropologist who has approached the study of the subject from the evolutionary point of view. Much that seems obscure to them in the organization and behaviour of nations would have received enlightenment from such an approach. There is a fixed point in all our speculations about the origin of nations. They could not have existed until the practice of agriculture was not only discovered but had reached a considerable degree of development. That could not, on the evidence of the fossil record, have been earlier than the sixth millennium B.C. Before then, mankind everywhere existed as local tribal communities, few of them numbering more than a few hundred souls. It was during this tribal age, extending over many hundreds of years, that man evolved from a prehuman to a human stage, and during which the various varieties, or 'races,' of mankind were evolved. The government of such tribes was not imposed from without, but grew up within their evolving brains, constituting an innate self-government, of which we now speak as 'human nature.' Its headquarters are in our subconscious selves. A tribe is a closed inbreeding community; it aims at being eternal; human nature is so organized as to secure its permanence; a tribal community is thus ideal for the production and preservation of evolutionary changes; it constitutes Nature's evolutionary unit. Human nature is constituted so as to secure the purposes of man's evolution.

When we dig into the past, no matter what part of the earth we choose—China, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Greece, Rome, France or England—we are carried sooner or later to an organization which is tribal, or in which the evidence of its former existence is clearly discernible. Even in the sixteenth century tribalism still ruled in large parts of Ireland, Scotland and Wales. Our history is a welding of tribes—war being the means usually adopted, as our authors have observed—into larger and larger units—until we reach the multi-nation state which Great Britain and Northern Ireland now constitute. But in this process of welding, nothing new



was introduced; each man, woman and child brought into the evolving community their original stock of human or tribal nature—they are tribespeople fused into a larger unit. The process of tribal fusion is slow; it takes a long time for a nation to manifest the unanimity of feeling and action which is characteristic of the smaller unit. It is to large communities, in which this common tribal feeling has become a conscious heritage, that our authors would restrict the term 'nation.' Such discrimination may be useful but it is artificial. They confess their inability to give a definition of 'nation.' Evolving things change—hence they defy definition. But if my interpretation is right, 'nation' in modern times has replaced 'tribe' as an evolutionary unit. In brief, the only living races we have in Europe are those frontier-encircled groups we now call 'nationalities.'

There are many other statements made in *Nationalism* to which the evolutionist will take exception; for example, their statement that "Jews as a nation and their refusal to apply such a term to the inhabitants of Egypt and of China; the nature of self-determination, and of nationalism, and of economics. I have written enough to show that nationalism can be approached from an evolutionary point of view as well as from one which is politico-economical. Notwithstanding what I have written concerning our problems of nationalism, I am indebtedness to them for giving English readers and thinkers the most complete and scholarly presentation known to me of the national problems which now confront Europe and the world. ARTHUR KEITH.

**How Came Civilization?** By Lord Raglan. London: Methuen, 1939. 191 pp., 8 figures and maps. Price 6s.

**133** Lord Raglan's presentation of his unbeliefs, and their positive corollaries, is always tonic and provocative. His scepticism ranges wide, but since he affirms as stoutly as he denies, he cannot be regarded as the complete sceptic. Belief in one's chosen theories is probably, however, a 'general tendency' of the human mind, which needs a framework for its less trivial credulities. In his main lines of argument Lord Raglan does not substantially diverge from those adopted by other diffusionists who have discussed independent invention and the origins of the civilizations of the Old and New Worlds, but there are moments when he would seem to overreach himself, and fall too heavily upon, and with, his postulated adversaries. No thoroughgoing diffusionist will dissent from his major propositions, nor will fail to recognize the force and vivacity of his exposition. To avoid the perils of a mere panegyric, however, appreciation of this book may perhaps best be shown by selecting for comment a few statements and opinions in which the author lays himself open to attack by those who may suspect him of an obiter-dictatorial tendency. Such, for example, are the statements that "savages never invent or create anything new" and that retrogression is "the normal tendency of mankind." The first of these obviously needs confirmation, and it depends for its speculative validity upon the meanings attached to the words 'discovery' and 'invention'. There is no evidence that recent or modern savages have invented bows, canoes, or even simpler artefacts, whatever earlier savages may have done or not done; but the occurrence of so much diversity in form and structure of artefacts indicates that there have been small variations and mutations, which have in some cases led to improvements; and this is how discovery and invention proceed. Nor is Lord Raglan's second quoted statement likely

to be found more acceptable, and indeed it is linked with the first. We may admit that there are innumerable instances of culture-degeneration, both as a whole and in detail, but that adaptation to environment has frequently occurred is also true. No one who has admired, for example, the ingenuity and skill with which the Eskimo have adapted their—practically certainly Asiatic—material culture to the conditions of their polar habitat, will be prepared to admit that, as Lord Raglan suggests, the adaptation "probably consisted in dropping whatever elements were unsuited" to their new environment. No doubt they were compelled to drop some elements, but others they must have transformed.

Lord Raglan lays stress upon the relations between material progress, ritual, and religion. Thus, corn-growing, cattle-breeding, metal-working, the wheel, the sail, the loom, the brick, etc., in South-Western Asia about the 3000 B.C., were discoveries and inventions that "may well have been made by the priests of the cult [of the divine king], who were probably the leaders of secular as well as of religious thought." But discoveries and inventions are not made by thought alone, the eyes and hands being inevitably involved. In this connexion, also, the statement that "useful invention is likely to take place only where there is experiment" may meet with the reply that suggestions for improvement will most readily arise during the utilization or the making of an artefact, or the carrying-out of a process. These were no doubt the earliest experiments, no laboratory, or temple, being needed. The priests, bearers of tradition, looking inward and aloft, may well have opposed innovations in the first instance, and seized any worthwhile credit in the second.

Pursuing this topic further, in the discussion of the origin of certain artefacts we are told, of the plough, that it "cannot plausibly be attributed to 'evolution,' whatever meaning we attach to that ill-used word." The context suggests that the stimulus to the origin of the implement was associated with ritual, and we are not warned against the deduction that the plough, by-passing its simpler predecessors, sprang fully-formed from the head of a priest. The technologist may easily undervalue ritual, but he runs the less risk of entanglement in mysticism. Concerning the theory, which Lord Raglan favours, not without some caution, that civilization originated in ritual, sociologists too may note that "any such theory will of course be rejected out of hand by the rationalizers, who are to-day the curse of sociology." To rationalize is human, to ritualize divine, as one might say tentatively.

As a minor correction for the next edition, it is a misconception of the principle of the fire-piston to say that it is worked "by moving a stick bound with tow rapidly up and down" in a tube.

The temptation must be resisted to follow further along the polemical trail which Lord Raglan has blazed for our enticement. There are controversial opportunities for all, and even the most convinced diffusionist may temper his appreciation of a stimulating book with some personal reactions to its more adventurous conclusions. H. S. HARRISON.

**Human Nature Writ Large.** By F. Creedy, with a Foreword by Bronislaw Malinowski. Allen & Unwin, 1939, London: 484 pp. Price 15s.

**134** Mr. Creedy's book is described as 'a social psychological survey and West European anthropology.' The anthropological element is provided by the view that modern industrial society is 'very primitive' in the sense either that it is very imperfect or that it has



points in common with those cultures that we commonly call primitive. In effect this approach combines not very happily the old-fashioned evolutionary theory of anthropology with the modern conception of culture as the product of a multiplicity of factors in which the evolutionary element, represented by the extension of knowledge and development of technique, is only one. If primitive societies form a separate category, it must be in virtue of their points of difference from 'advanced' societies; the characteristics which all societies have in common cannot fairly be called 'primitive' when found in modern society, particularly when the adjective is used, as it invariably is, in a pejorative sense.

In Mr. Creedy's view Western society is primitive because it is dominated by 'mythologies,' that is generalizations dictating modes of conduct, which do not correspond to reality. Of these he describes the 'mythology' of the business man, or the code of behaviour of the business man, and at rather less length that of sex and the family. A larger proportion of the book is taken up with the 'mythology' of nationalism, which he views as a totemistic religion, its totem being the flag, which provides an outlet from the boredom of everyday life in periodical orgies of human sacrifice. Even those psychologists who are prepared to explain war purely in terms of individual psychological reactions would not accept a theory as naïve as this, and sociologists will reject it, with other similar theories, on the ground not only that it overlooks altogether the importance of social institutions in creating the circumstances that lead to war, but that war itself cannot be understood, if it is merely viewed as a breakdown of social controls, rather than a recognized social institution. Anthropologists will not recognize totemism as Mr. Creedy does. It is characteristic of his whole outlook that he overlooks altogether the existence of the institutions that the 'mythologies' support, and the various social sanctions for the conduct which they inculcate.

The author refers frequently to the importance of "insisting on observational verification for every thing," (p. 42) and we may hope that he has taken advantage of recent history to check some of his generalizations. Recent events, for example, made a British Prime Minister's blood boil; but his reaction was hardly what Mr. Creedy's theory of nationalism would have led one to expect. Again, even supposing it to be true that in 1914 the peoples sprang with joy to war (p. 159) something very different can be seen to-day. The theory of the reversal of values which in war-time leads the business man to substitute self-sacrifice for the profit-making motive, could also now be empirically tested.

Mr. Creedy seeks a new mythology which should more closely reflect realities, and asks for the co-operation of science in the search. He rejects Max Weber's work on religion, however, on the ground that "those who have no idea of what religion really aims at, are not in a good position to interpret it." On such grounds he would have to reject the collaboration of a good many of the sociologists best qualified to offer it. L. P. MAIR.

**East versus West: A Denial of Contrast.** By P. Kodanda Rao. London: Allen & Unwin, 1939. 256 pp. Price 10s. 6d.

135 Mr. Rao attacks, in effect, the dogma that East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet. A false dichotomy into Occident and Orient, he says, conceals the fact that the traits which the white peoples call 'Western' are actually a product neither of geography nor of race, but of mechanization. Some of the sociologists whom he criticizes would fully accept this thesis, and would disclaim any

intention to imply, by the use of a word convenient for its popular connotations, any theory of inherent differences based on race. Most students of modern culture-contact see, in all its manifestations, the common factor of the industrialization of peasant communities; so much so that modern developments in European rural areas are found to be capable of analysis on lines similar to those that have been followed in Africa and elsewhere. We should do well perhaps to accept a terminology that made this attitude clearer.

Yet one cannot quite agree with Mr. Rao that there is no difference between the phenomena which have characterized the industrialization of Europe and those which occur when a fully developed industrial culture is presented to an extra-European society. To admit a clash of values in these circumstances is not to dissent from Mr. Rao's fundamental position, but merely to take into account factors which he, in common with many other citizens of non-European countries who are anxious for the rapid advance in civilization of their own people, tends to discount. To be aware that maladjustments occur is not to deny the capacity of 'the East' for 'civilization'; indeed a comprehension of these maladjustments and their causes would seem to be calculated to facilitate the process of assimilation. One cannot follow Mr. Rao in his attack on Clark Wissler's theory of acculturation; the concept of the selective influence of a culture pattern, though capable of refinement, does correspond to facts which can be observed in any field-study of culture contact, and does not bind the sociologist who holds it to any theory of an immutable culture.

It is perhaps unfortunate that Mr. Rao has tried to kill with one stone the two birds of popular fallacy and inaccurate scientific terminology. In ascribing either to one or to the other—it is not always clear which—consequences that cannot in strict fact be laid at the door of either, he overstates a case which in its general lines must command sympathy. Is it, for example, quite accurate to say that "India is denied self-government of the democratic type on the ground that . . . a correlation is presumed between Oriental people and autocratic rule, and Occidentals and democracy?" L. P. MAIR.

**Nationalism and The Communal Mind.** By E. Hanbury Hankin. London, 1938. xiii + 190 pp. 136 Price 7s. 6d.

This is an attempt to explain the phenomenon of militant nationalism by classing it with such practices as king-killing, cannibalism, and the blood-feud as 'persistent customs.' The author supposes that these customs were acquired as the result of social changes, but that once acquired they can only disappear by means of a process of slow degeneration. He sketches their distribution, and gives examples of their sporadic appearance in countries where they had long ceased to be regularly followed.

He regards these customs as analogous to the periodical migrations of animals, and concludes from a study of the latter that "the directive power that guides the migrating animal is something that comes to it from the outside." He supposes this power, which he calls "the communal mind" to be also responsible for the existence of "persistent customs" in man.

His acquaintance with modern anthropological literature is slight; his accounts of customs are drawn largely from travellers' tales, and he attributes the custom of king-killing to "a periodically recurring paroxysm of hatred of the king." Nevertheless the book is lucidly and interestingly written and if the author's solutions are unsatisfactory, so are those of others. RAGLAN.

**The Culture-Historical Method of Ethnology: The Scientific Approach to the Racial Question.**

**137** By Wilhelm Schmidt, translated by S. A. Sieber. New York: Fortune's, 1939. xx + 383 pp. Price 5 dollars.

Fr. Schmidt begins by setting out his general attitude towards the influence of migration on the tribe did not fall "out of the open sky all complete, and then constantly remain in its own one area" (p. 6). He stresses "the insignificant rôle the modern primitives play in the history of mankind" (p.13). He goes on to discuss critically the attitude which has been adopted

to the 'historical method' by anthropologists, but while over thirty pages are devoted to the anthropologists of America, those of Britain are not considered worthy of more than three. He then goes on to describe at length this method, and the theory of culture-circles, chiefly by means of quotations from the works of Graebner; in fact, the greater part of the book is cast in the form of a series of lectures on Graebner. That his argument is often difficult to follow is largely the fault of the translator; there is hardly a sentence in the book which could have been written by an educated English-speaker. RAGLAN.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

**Notes on the Igbo Hoard.** (Cf. MAN, 1940, 1.)

**138** SIR,—In MAN, 1940, 1, Mr. Field says that *ichi* markings are confined to males. This statement is not true. A number of the Ubiaja Igbo women have the *ichi* scarification, which comes right down on to the neck. Again, the first-born daughter of the Eze Ndri Aguku and also of the Eze Oreri also bear the *ichi* facial marks. I took photographs of the young daughter of the Eze Oreri but the light was bad and the marks show too faintly to bear reproduction.

The term *Aro-knot* occurs in print, so far as I am aware, for the first time in Basden's *The Niger Ibos*. I have worked for years in close proximity with the Aro and I never heard them or anyone else describe the knotted manilla as the Aro-knot. The Aro are a recent arrival: they arrived after the manilla currency was in use, e.g., at Benin. I feel that *Aro-knot* is a misnomer. That the knotted manilla is held in great esteem by the Aro is true, but it is not called the *Aro-knot*.

Manillas of this knotted type can be found among the Andoni of the sea coast, who attribute them to the Portuguese. The Andoni have a tribal burial ground in the town of Ayambogo. "Walking through it I was amazed to find laying in the streets numbers of manillas of all sorts and shapes and sizes: here and there a leg bone crumbling away into dust, still encircled by a copper torque, while in one place the remains of a human skeleton could be traced on the ground with many manillas lying about. Among the Ibibio in Eket is a saying spoken to those who wish to amass money in a hurry, *Ka ikot okpo obudum k'etang okpogo*, which means 'go to the bush of bones of the Andoni, to pick up manillas'."—Jeffreys, M. D. W., Unpublished MSS., Government Assessment Report, Andoni Tribe, Calabar Province, Nigeria.

In 1505 Pereira in his *Esmeralda*, when speaking of Benin, says that slaves are obtainable for 12 to 15 brass or copper manillas. While James Barbot in 1699 mentions that "purple copper armlets, made at Loanda de S. Paola in Angola are a very good commodity here and at Rio del Rey and the Portuguese carry great quantities of them."

In 1848 Hawthorne, writing of Settra Kroo in Liberia, says:—"I have procured some of the country money. . . . The 'Manilly' worth a dollar and a half, would be fearful currency to make large payments in, being composed of old brass kettles, melted up and cast in a sand mould. The weight is from two to four pounds."—Hawthorne, N., *The Journal of an African Cruiser*, London, 1848, p. 118.

There is no evidence that the manilla not only was being imported into Africa but also being made there;

but I have come across no evidence to associate it with the *Aro-knot*.

The four knotted snakes recall to mind one of the omens which the High Priest, the Okpala Okaka at Oreri, informed me was a divine message calling on him to take up his sacred post. I quote from my official report submitted to the Nigerian Government: "The first intimation he had, that he was destined for this post, was that in the dry season for no apparent reason the high mud walls of his compound (*nywulo*) fell down, and when rain fell the surface water flooded his compound and entered his domicile. . . . Then other omens occurred: four snakes all knotted together appeared mysteriously in his compound: a machet broke and cut his hand: his first wife died."—Jeffreys, M. D. W., Unpublished MSS., Government Research Report on Magico-religious Beliefs of the Igbo Onitsha Province, Nigeria, 1931.

The coiled objects of MAN, 1940, Plate A, fig. 5, has a resemblance to a curious pottery annulus which I found in this same town in the courtyard of the divine king.

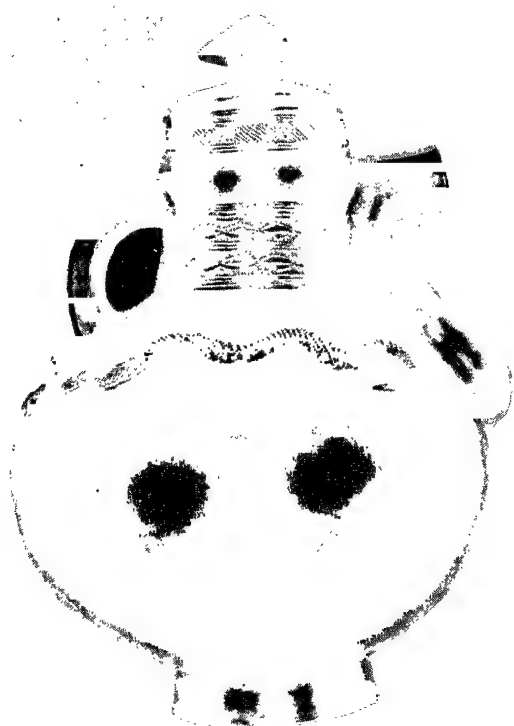
"In the courtyard of the Eze Ndri stands a tall *Iroko* tree. At its foot, offerings are made to the *Mmo* (ancestral spirits) and skulls of various animals adorn the bushes growing at the foot of the tree. Lying on the ground between some of the roots of this tree is a large annular object made of pottery and fairly old. It is called *wilivi*. It is regarded as an *alusi* (child of Shi or Chi, i.e., God) for detecting thieves. The top half is decorated, and the lower half is plain."—(*Ibid.*)

It is quite possible that this hoard, described by Mr. Field, was the regalia of a titled man or of an Eze; also it is probable that the metal work is from the Ramum smiths of the Cameroons. M. JEFFREYS. *Bamenda, British Cameroons.*

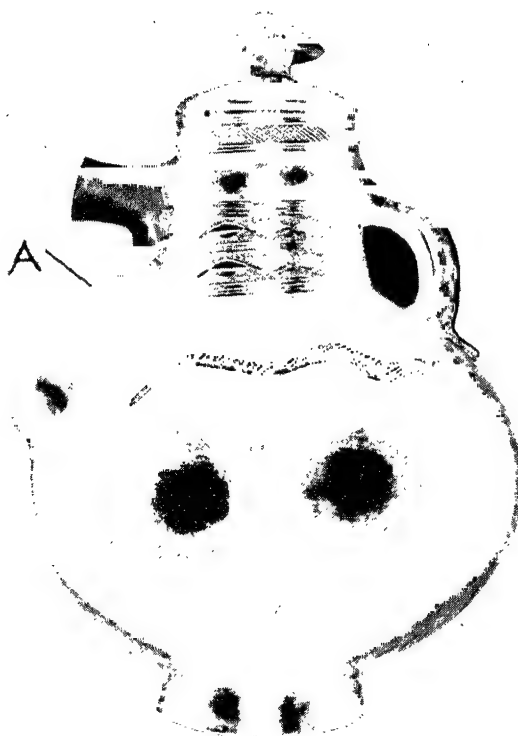
**The American Folklore Society.**

**139** SIR,—The American Folklore Society is re-organizing, and in the process a Committee on increasing membership has been formed. By the end of 1940 the *Journal* will be brought up to date, and three *Memoirs* will appear. Of these three memoirs one is included in the memoir membership, and the other two may be ordered for \$2.50 instead of the catalogued price of \$3.50. In addition it is hoped to diversify the contents of the *Journal*, so that it will touch more nearly on other fields of interest. To increase its importance the Society needs the support of interested participation; suggestions and also manuscript contributions to the *Journal* will be welcome. The address of the American Folklore Society is c/o Department of Anthropology, Columbia University, New York City. J. L. M.

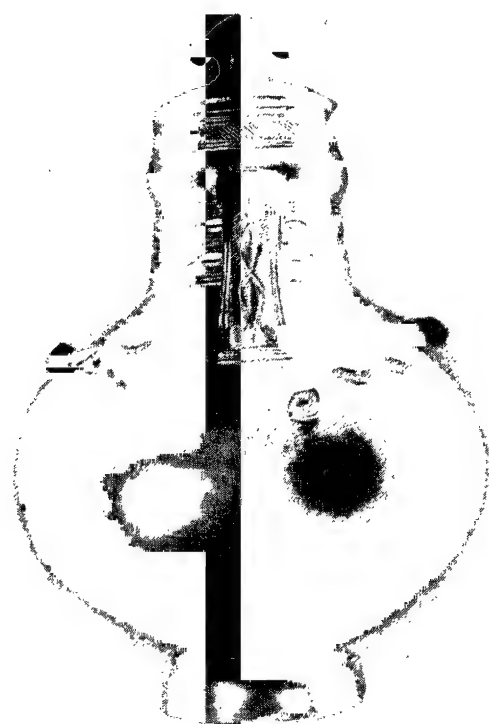




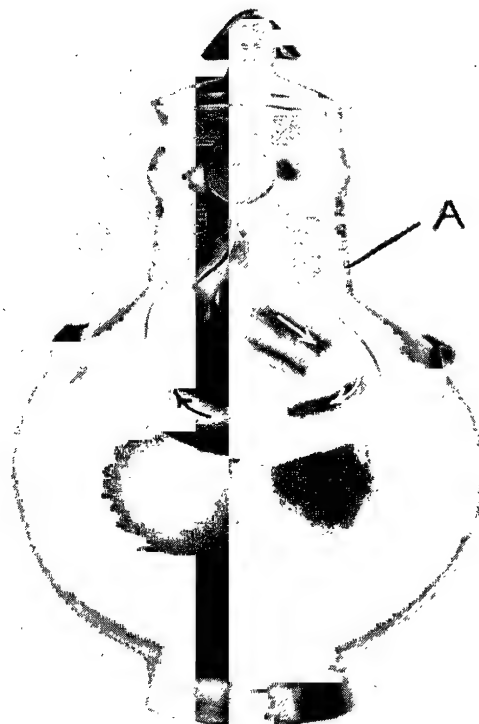
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**AN UNUSUAL SNAKE VESSEL FROM SOUTH-CENTRAL AFRICA**

*Museum of the Bureau of Archæology : University of the Witwatersrand : half-scale.*

# MAN

## A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

XL, 140-154

AUGUST, 1940

### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

With Plate H.

**AN UNUSUAL SNAKE VESSEL FROM SOUTH-CENTRAL AFRICA.** *By C. Van Riet Lowe, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, Director of the South African Bureau of Archaeology.*

**140** In MAN, 1939, 186, Mr. J. G. Aravamuthan, of the Government Museum at Madras, contributed an article entitled 'A Link between India and Crete'. He figured eight vases from Crete, and a single specimen from Maniyar Math in Rajgir with a number of spouts opening from its upper half; the latter from Dikshit *Ann. Bib. Indian Archaeology*, 3, XI (1936); the former from Evans, *Palace of Minos at Knossos*, IV, i (1933). The 'links' stressed were the multiple spouts and their association with serpents and perforations.

The significance of the serpent among Bantu-speaking and other people throughout Africa has been emphasized by Sir James Frazer and the belief that the dead come to life in the form of serpents is stressed by him in *The Golden Bough*, I, p. 82 ff. Yet the occurrence of snake vessels among these people is one that I cannot recall having seen in any publication.

On Plate H. 1-4 and figure 5 below we have five views of an unusually interesting specimen recently bought by Mr. B. F. Windall from an itinerant hawker at Mufulira in the 'Copper Belt' of Northern Rhodesia, and generously presented by him to the museum of the Bureau of Archaeology at the University of the Witwatersrand. The hawker had come from Kaleba on the eastern side of North Eastern Rhodesia. This is Bemba-speaking country, but noted that the Copper Belt is the meeting-place of many tribes whose representatives turn to the mines for employment from far and near.

The vessel illustrated is of well-baked clay with an under a black graphite slip. The lid is surmounted by a sphinx-like head that characterizes Luban head-dress, set in a circle that designs of ten cowrie-shells—each shell in a separate compartment. On the lower portion of the vessel are two rows of cowrie-shells—fourteen indented in each row, while five similar handles appear on the cylindrical neck of the vase—about three serpents in high relief: on one side, a serpent is in the act of

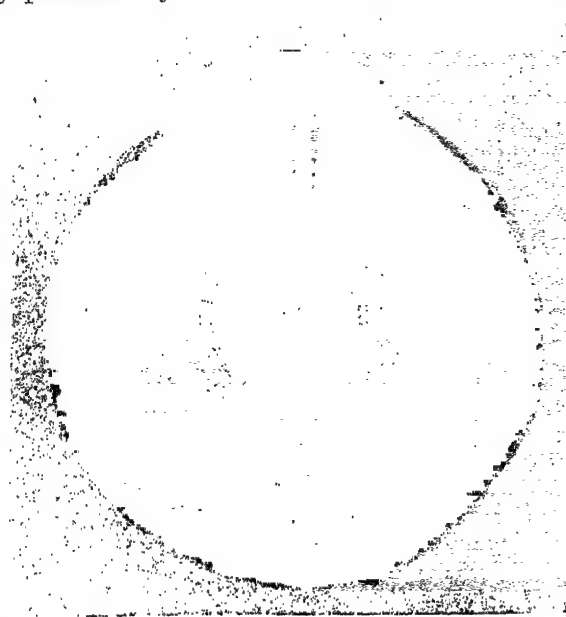


FIG. 5. SNAKE VESSEL SEEN FROM ABOVE: HALF SCALE.

is modern. It is of unusually fine finish slip. The lid is surmounted by a sphinx-like head that characterizes Luban head-dress, set in a circle that designs of ten cowrie-shells—each shell in a separate compartment. On the lower portion of the vessel are two rows of cowrie-shells—fourteen indented in each row, while five similar handles appear on the cylindrical neck of the vase—about three serpents in high relief: on one side, a serpent is in the act of

the other, the third serpent is shown swallowing a frog. These are clearly seen in the view of the pot from above (fig. 5).

The spout is most interesting. It is cylindrical and includes four rectangular perforations in the circular diaphragm at the end. These perforations or openings do not penetrate *directly* into the body of the vessel, but follow the coil seen in the front view of the 'pot', finally to enter the body of the 'pot' at the point marked 'A'. In other words, when liquid is poured from the vessel, it leaves the interior at 'A', follows the line of arrows round the coil *outside the pot* and emerges from the end of this coil or spout in four streams.

In general outline this Mufulira specimen recalls the Cretan vase figured as No. 7 in MAN, 1939, 186. It differs in notable respects—the lid, indented cowrie-shell design and coiled spout 'planted on' to the outer wall of the vessel—but in common with the Cretan and Indian specimens it has both the multiple spout and the serpent.

If Mr. Aravamuthan's suggestion that the "vessels from Rajgir and from Crete furnish "proof of contact" is accepted, there would appear to be no reason why the 'contact' or sphere of influence of the old snake cult as expressed in snake vessels, should not be extended to South-Central Africa.

### THE GENETIC RELATION OF THE BARK CANOE TO DUG-OUTS AND PLANK-BUILT BOATS.

By James Hornell.

**141** In an article read at the meeting of the British Association in 1936<sup>1</sup> I adduced evidence to show that both of the two types of plank-built boats in use in Europe at the present time—the clinker and the carvel build—are derived ultimately from the dug-out canoe. Of this I remain convinced, but further acquaintance, recently acquired, of the variations observable in the constructional methods employed by certain of the Australian aboriginal tribes when building their bark canoes, appears to indicate that the dug-out canoe in some localities, if not in all, represents only an intermediate stage in the evolution of planked boats; that the dug-out is not the *fons et origo* of the series, and that the beginning of boat construction must be moved much further back in time as measured in terms of material culture. In other words, the genesis of many present-day types of dug-out, perhaps of all, consisted of an imitation in wood of the form of a canoe made from a sheet of bark. This does not rule out the possibility that dug-outs were developed or invented independently in more than one locality, and that some may have evolved in a different manner. This must remain an open question for all time.

It is, I think, generally considered by anthropologists that the early stages of man's evolution subsequent to that vague period when he began slowly to acquire the rudiments of true speech—the power to transmit to his fellows and his children the results of experience by means of definite articulate sounds—were spent in or on

the borders of a forest region within either the tropical or the sub-tropical belt, where he lived the primitive life of a nomadic hunter. Granted this, and the further inference that as yet his tool-chest contained nothing more serviceable than the rudest of stone tools, it is reasonable to conclude that long before he was capable of felling a tree, either by fire or by cutting tools, he would have found it comparatively easy to strip the bark from suitable trees in his forest home. In the beginning the utilization of bark for various purposes, such as rude trough-containers for food, was probably suggested when, in his search for insect grubs, often esteemed highly by primitive races, he pulled away with his hands portions of bark loosened by decay and dryage from trees uprooted by storm or flood. From this would be but a short step to the purposeful stripping off of pieces of living bark of definite size and shape, appropriate for fashioning into rude utensils of specialized form and dimensions, exactly as is done by Australian aborigines to-day. These perforce would be normally longer than broad, and when the ends were brought together, whether merely bunched up and bound in place with the pliant stems of creepers or at a later stage skewered, laced, or sewn together in sharp-ended form, would assume what we term the 'canoe shape.' Given the primitive savage's keen observation in all that pertains to the essentials of existence, it seems likely enough that at a comparatively early period he came to use an enlarged and improved edition of his bark food-container as a means of transport on the rivers flowing through

<sup>1</sup> Published in *Antiquity*, March, 1939, pp. 35-44, under the title 'The Origins of Plank-built Boats.'



his domain, whenever seasonal changes compelled him to wander afield after game, or to move his camping ground.

Judging from what we know of primitive peoples living in the peripheral regions of the Eastern Hemisphere—in particular the Australian aborigines—and of the Western Hemisphere where the Yahgan Fuegians use bark canoes, the ancient forest people who were our first truly 'human' ancestors very probably made their earliest essay in the conquest of the waters in a long strip of bark curled up along each side, with the ends stopped by lumps of clay. The bunching up of the ends, and finally the refinements effected by giving the stem and stern a sharp termination, are stages in canoe evolution that admit of no contradiction.

In Australia the aborigines remained in the Stone Age long after the island continent was settled by Europeans; their material culture was and is of a very low and primitive type, little, if at all, more advanced than that of our ancestral forest-dwelling ancestors. Among these people all the gradations in canoe design which I have indicated, as well as several even more advanced types, have been found; examples are to be seen in the museums of Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide. Simplest of these is the open-ended trough canoe characteristic formerly of a wide area in south-west South Australia, western Victoria and the basin of the Murray and Darling Rivers in New South Wales.<sup>2</sup> Sometimes, as already mentioned, a mass of clay or mud blocked each end to form an improvised breakwater or bulkhead as in some Indian and Papuan dug-outs; sometimes this is wanting.

In others a distinct advance was made by steaming a long run of bark over fire in order to soften it, and thereby enable the sides to be bent and moulded into deeper form; the same softening allowed the ends to be given a distinct and most useful upturn.

The bark canoes formerly in use on the rivers and creeks of the coastal areas of New South Wales and of south-east Victoria furnish examples of the next series of advances made in the evolution of these craft. The main and characteristic improvement was the pleating and bunching

together of the ends of the bark sheet, which were then tied permanently in position by means of bark cord. In the treatment of the interior, great variation occurred. Some had no internal fittings whatever, while others were strengthened by means of a few rod-shaped stretchers, the rudiments of thwarts, inserted between the sides in order to keep them apart at a determined distance. These were commonly supplemented by means of cord ties, to prevent undue widening or spreading. Even the use has been recorded of rude ribs, and of an equally rude form of gunwale formed of a cylindrical bundle of rushes laced along the margins of the bark hull.

It is noteworthy that the simplest—those without the adventitious strengthening of stretchers, ties, ribs and gunwales—were characteristic of Victorian localities in the region farthest south in the Australian range of the bark canoe. Going north along the eastern coast the construction in general became more advanced, a condition consonant with the theory that in the Southern Hemisphere the most primitive forms lie farthest south, in the region nearest to the southern extremity of each continental mass.

In South America the single-piece bark canoe is found to-day in Guiana and Brazil; among Europeans it goes by the name of *Woodskin*. In a typical example figured by Mrs. M. D. Brindley,<sup>3</sup> the sheet of bark is rolled in scroll-fashion and kept open by several thwart-stretchers. A very slight sheer prevents leakage through the closely rolled and bluntly pointed ends.

A most important development in design is signalized in the sharp-ended types of one-piece canoes used on the north coast of Australia and by several negro tribes in South Africa, notably in Rhodesia. The crudest variety is that made by the Lambas of Northern Rhodesia. Here, after detaching a long sheet of bark from a tree, the ends are in turn placed over a fire. The heat causes them to become pliable and enables the builders to double the edges over and secure them with cross skewers of wood. Light stretchers are then placed at intervals between the gunwales to prevent the sides from collapse.<sup>4</sup> In other examples seen on the Wami

<sup>2</sup> Davidson, D. S., 'The Chronology of Australian Watercraft,' *Jour. Polynesian Soc.*, Vol. 44, p. 79. See also Thomas, N. W., 'Australian Canoes and Rafts,' *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, XXXV, 1905, pp. 56-79.

<sup>3</sup> 'The Canoes of British Guiana,' *Mariner's Mirror*, X., 1924, pp. 124-132.

<sup>4</sup> Doke, C., *The Lambas of Northern Rhodesia*, London, 1931, p. 119.

River (Tanganyika Territory) by Stuhlmann<sup>5</sup> the ends of a long piece of bark, after being softened by heat, are bent together and sewn to one another with strips of bast. Over the seams clay is daubed.

The equivalents of these African forms are represented in canoes from the coasts and islands of North Australia and Queensland. The simplest variety has sharply pointed ends sheered sharply upwards from the bottom. During construction, after the sides at each end have been bent together, their end margins are trimmed to shape and then sewn together with bast strips or bast cords. A few stretchers and ties are present, but no ribs.

A specialized form employed in the Arafura swamps in Central Arnhem Land is of particular interest for the fore end is drawn out into an underwater pointed ram-shape,<sup>6</sup> identical with those characteristic of the peculiar canoes used on the Kutenai River in British Columbia and the State of Idaho and in the Amur area of Eastern Siberia, where however both ends are pointed underwater, reversing the usual sheer of the stem in canoes and boats.<sup>7</sup> The Australian type has a vertical sewn stern, is without ribs, but has both stretcher rods and bast fibre ties connecting the gunwales.

Examples of single-piece bark canoes from Bathurst Island, northward of Darwin, North Australia, in the Adelaide Museum, show no trace of ribs, but in addition to rod stretchers and bast fibre ties the straight run of each gunwale is strengthened by a pole lashed lengthwise along it. The ends are sharp, and bifurcate, the stem is markedly concave, the stern deeply lobed—characteristic forms common to many Oceanic and Indonesian types of canoes and undoubtedly of very ancient ancestry, as demonstrated by W. Müller.<sup>8</sup>

The series above described furnish a complete evolutionary gradation ascending from the crude trough-like stage to one in all respects the equal of the most graceful of dug-outs.

A second series show how transverse frames may have come into existence. In a fine example

of bark canoe from the Gulf of Carpentaria, made by the Anula tribe and now in the National Museum at Melbourne, we find that in its construction three wide strips of bark have been employed to form the main part of the hull. These comprise on one side a full-length strip, with the other and opposite side or half made up of two unequal lengths, joined end-to-end by a vertical sewn joint. The side strips are bent inwards along their lower edges and are sewn together in the median line of the bottom; at each end they are sewn together to form a sharp stem and stern, raked slightly upwards and forwards. To avoid shipping seas, each end is heightened by the addition of a length of narrow bark weather-boarding on each side. Along the upper and free margin of each side, except for a short distance at the ends, a gunwale pole is lashed and the two gunwales are stayed to prevent spreading, by means of nine bark-cord ties.

Similarly, to prevent the bottom from caving upwards nine sets of primitive ribs are present. Each consists of two short pieces of mangrove stick. The upper ends of each pair are wedged under the gunwale pole on opposite sides and are set obliquely so that their lower sections cross one another amidships, with the extremities wedged against what we may now call the turn of the bilge, which is protected against damage by extra pieces of loose bark laid as a flooring along the bottom of the canoe and thereby intercalated between the heels of the rib sticks and the actual bark skin.

These canoes are built for use both in the sea and on rivers. They are seaworthy when handled expertly. One, examined, was 16 feet long by 2 feet beam; in it eight natives on one occasion had paddled across twenty miles of open sea, voyaging from the Sir Edward Pellew Islands to the Macarthur River.

The next step in the typological series illustrating the development of primitive framing is seen in a bark canoe in the Australian Museum, Sydney, coming from the same locality as the last—the Pellew Islands in the Gulf of Carpentaria. This is made from a single broad length of bark bent into canoe shape, the ends similar, cut and sewn into the form of a sharp cutwater, raked as before; gunwale poles are present, together with a number of cross ties of fibre cordage to prevent the hull from flattening out. Here, again, the primitive frames consist of short, paired lengths

<sup>5</sup> Stuhlmann, 'Handwerk und Industrie in Ostafrika,' *Abh. d. Hamburger Inst.* Bd. 1, 1910, p. 34.

<sup>6</sup> Thomson, D. F., 'The Tree Dwellers of the Arafura Swamps,' *MAN*, 1939, 109.

<sup>7</sup> Mason, Otis T., 'Pointed Bark Canoes of the Kutenai and Amur,' *Report U.S. Nat. Mus.* 1899, pp. 523-537.

<sup>8</sup> 'Austro-insulare Kanus als Kult- und Kriegssymbols,' *Baessler-Archiv.*, II, 1912, pp. 235-249.

of mangrove stick, fairly stout. Instead, however, of crossing one another, the two lower ends butt together amidships on the bottom. With their upper ends tightly wedged under the pole gunwales, they form effectively rigid transverse frames, each half or unit representing a rib. As the gunwale poles do not extend to the stem and stern, short pieces of wood of graduated length are wedged inside the angle at each end to keep it from deformation.

Finally, we get a type of canoe, again from the coast of North Australia, wherein two-part frames are replaced by numerous single-piece frames, each formed of a pliant rod curved to the interior shape of the bark shell which is approximately semi-circular. In one canoe, 16 feet in length, examined in the Adelaide Museum, these semi-circular frames numbered 19, spaced apart about 8 inches. Their ends are wedged below the gunwale poles as in the two preceding examples. Four fibre ties are present, but no stretchers.

No further advance in bark canoe construction appears to have taken place in Australia, owing probably to the stagnation of progress due to the failure of the aborigines to combine into settled communities; remaining in a nomadic condition, they had no incentive to advance in material culture; split into small tribal groups, trading between the tribes was virtually or entirely unknown; only in comparatively recent times have Indonesian and Melanesian cultures begun to exert an influence upon the material culture of the northern tribes; of this, instances are seen in the presence of outrigger canoes with dug-out hulls on the coasts of the Cape York Peninsula and of simple dug-outs along the coast of the territory of North Australia.

It was otherwise in the densely afforested belt that stretches across North America and Eastern Asia approximately between the parallels of 45° and 60° W. In this region bark canoe construction attains the perfection of its art. It is unnecessary to enter into details of the graceful double-ended canoes of the North American Indians, of those of the Tungus, Yakut and Goldi tribes on the Amur and its tributaries, or of the laboriously wrought craft of the Fuegian Yahgans; for in the study of the relationship of bark canoes to other craft we can best base our reasoning upon the gradations in bark canoe construction found in Australia, where alone have numerous primitive types survived. It will suffice to say that in the American and Asiatic types, wooden gun-

wales, numerous regular frames and stretchers, sometimes becoming thwarts, are usually present. The bark skin is normally in several sections carefully sewn together, with the seams payed with resin or gum. When the designs of these various types are analysed we find that all are natural developments from ancestral forms similar in essentials to the bark canoes of Australia.

Up to this point we have been dealing with facts. With the knowledge thus gained we have now to attempt to gain some insight into the obscure working of the inexperienced minds of the earliest pioneers of civilization when they decided to leave the home-land of river, lake and forest for coastal regions where the bark canoes which they had hitherto used were found too frail and unstable. At that time these people probably possessed few improvements upon the tools of Palaeolithic man; but rude as may have been their equipment it probably included cutting implements capable of enabling them to fell trees, and to shape the trunks into trough-shaped dug-outs, rude replicas of the bark canoes which they had hitherto used but which were now found unsuitable because of the rocky fringes and rough seas of the coast where their new settlements were located. Or it may be that in the new land no trees could be found with bark suitable for fashioning into canoe hulls. It is significant that it sometimes happens that bark canoes and dug-outs similar in basic design are in use side by side, as in the Amur instances cited by H. H. Brindley.<sup>9</sup>

Where the transition from bark canoe to tree-trunk dug-out took place is as yet impossible to decide, though several facts suggest that it occurred in or near India and the Malay Archipelago, where the dug-out canoe attains its highest and most elaborate development and the greatest multiplicity of form. The last-named fact is of the greatest importance to our conclusions for, as with animals and plants, the occurrence of many closely related species and varieties in any definite or restricted area denotes a prolonged occupation of that region and, inferentially, is evidence of greater relative antiquity than that of species in areas where it is exceptional to find many which are of close kinship.

If, then, the canoes of the two regions named (India and Indonesia) have been modelled upon pre-existing forms of bark canoes, we would

<sup>9</sup> 'Notes on the Boats of Siberia,' *Mariner's Mirror*, Sept., 1919.

expect that not only would their makers essay to copy the outward form, they would even copy minor features of no essential importance; just as the early workers in stone continued to imitate features essential to buildings constructed of wood but valueless when translated into stone. Hence the early hewers of dug-outs would probably retain the rib feature characteristic of bark canoes at the height of their development. That this was so is rendered extremely probable by the occurrence of rib-like ridges running transversely across the bottom and up the sides of dug-outs in certain localities at the present day; for example, in the large fishing and transport dug-outs of the Malabar coast of India, where these vestigial frames take the form of transverse bands in low relief across the bottom, sometimes continued up the sides.

Some of the ancient dug-out canoes, found in Britain in lacustrine and related deposits, show related frame vestiges; generally, they are narrow and prominent and usually cross the bottom without extending as ribs up the sides. In passing, I may say that it appears that the crude design of the earlier of British dug-outs suggests that they were made by a people who were living a life of hardship, a people who had lost much of the skill of their more fortunate forefathers—men who had lived nearer the cradle of the human race—in the sub-tropics probably, where under milder conditions they had developed considerable skill in wood-working.

These transverse frame ridges add little appreciable strength to the structure of a dug-out canoe, for they run across the grain of the wood. This fact appears to have been appreciated at a later date, for in the finest dug-outs of recent times these ridges have been suppressed.

Transverse frames do not reappear until the dug-out began to be replaced in its turn by replicas constructed of planks. At first these consisted of three planks—(a) a broad basal plank, flat or slightly hollowed after the fashion of a dug-out, and (b) a deep side plank sewed upon or to each edge of the bottom plank.<sup>10</sup> As so constructed the hull lacked rigidity. In a seaway, or if unequally loaded, the stresses set up tended to cause the seams to open and to chafe the lashings holding the planks together. Two methods to obviate this defect were eventually adopted, each in a different locality. In one,

perforated lug-shaped cleat projections were left in vertical and transverse series at definite intervals on the inner side of the hull planking, and to these cleats, shaped frames were fitted and lashed. This type was in universal use in Scandinavia in the early centuries of our era and persisted into Viking days; to-day the design continues to be employed in the construction of the war-canoes of the Solomon islanders and in some of the craft in use in the Indonesian islands to the west of New Guinea.

The alternative device was to sew the frames directly to the planking of the hull; this is seen at the present day only in the sharp-keeled canoes of the Gilbert islanders. Probably it was the method employed originally in those lands where the carvel type of framed vessel was developed; here, in later times, sewing gave place to metal fastenings as soon as copper, bronze or iron became sufficiently abundant and cheap to permit them to be employed freely.

If the reasoning above outlined be correct we may tabulate the progressive development of canoe construction in the following manner, premising that the series is arranged in typological order; in certain localities one or more of the intermediate stages may have been skipped, thereby telescoping the series to a greater or less degree than in others.

(a) TROUGH-SHAPED BARK CANOES :—

1. With open ends which may be closed with clay;
2. With each end bunched together and tied in position with bast fibre or creeper stems.

(b) SHARP-ENDED BARK CANOES :—

1. Without internal stiffening;
2. Stiffened by crossed ribs and gunwale poles;
3. Stiffened by several sets of 'frames,' each made of two oblique rib-sticks with the lower ends wedged together medially;
4. With numerous curved transverse frames of pliant rods, each in one continuous length.

(c) DUG-OUT CANOES, TYPICALLY SHARP ENDED :—

1. With transverse ridges across the bottom and up the sides, left when hewing out the hull;
2. Without any vestiges of frames.

(d) PLANK-BUILT CANOES :—

1. Of three planks, without frames; the planks sewn together edge to edge, or, alternatively, overlapped;
2. With inserted frames tied to cleats on the inner side of the planks, or, alternatively, with frames sewn directly to the hull.

<sup>10</sup> Hornell, J., 'The Evolution of the Clinker-built Fishing Lugger,' *Antiquity*, Sept., 1936, pp. 341-345.

From the last two designs (*d*, 2) have developed the present-day European types of planked boats known respectively as the 'clinker' and the 'carvel' build. In the clinker build the frames are inserted after the hull planking has been assembled; in the carvel the frames are pre-formed and to these the planking is nailed subsequently. In the former the planks are overlapped; in the latter they are arranged edge to edge.

From the carvel type of wooden canoes, boats

and ships, all iron and steel hulled vessels were in turn directly developed within the past hundred years.

It is probable that the skin-covered boats of the Esquimaux and certain other circum-polar peoples arose through modification of the sharp-ended bark canoe fitted with curved transverse frames (*b*, 4) when their ancestors migrated from forests lands into the treeless coastal wastes of the arctic regions. This, however, is another story and cannot be treated here.

**GESTURE, MAGIC AND PRIMITIVE ART.** *By Professor John Murphy, University of Manchester. Summary of a paper read at the Nottingham Meeting of the British Association, September, 1937.*

**142** In the paper at the British Association of which this is a summary the attempt was made to show certain relations of gesture to magic, ritual and primitive art. Many actions of magic and of religious ritual are fairly described as more or less simple or elaborate gestures. The simplest gesture is like an action in the bud, which may or may not open into completeness; or it may be described as an act at the stage of conation or will which does not pass into the completed action. This may be illustrated by the case of Köhler's chimpanzee. This female, watching with intense interest a male chimpanzee climbing to the topmost of the piled-up boxes to reach the coveted bananas, and stretching up his arm at last to grasp them, reached up with her arm at the same instant in the same way. This was an action which remained only a gesture because she was down on the ground and could not complete it. It was an adjustment of the body to the attainment of an end, a 'set' of its motor mechanism to a purpose which was not in fact achieved by it. It was, in Freudian terms, a 'wish' finding expression in gesture without actual fulfilment.

The resemblance of this in some respects to magic is obvious. It was, for example, *action at a distance*, an endeavour to throw across intervening space a power which did not actually cross it or influence the event at all. Other resemblances, as well as this, may be observed in examples of human gesture. There is the well-known spectator at football matches who kicks at the moment when he wishes the player to drive the ball into goal; and the player at every sort of ball-game (bowls, golf, etc.) who inclines his body in the direction in which he desires the ball to go, or feels the inclination but represses it. The motorist often,

when not himself driving, gesticulates with feet and hands and body, especially at critical moments. In these human cases, as in Köhler's chimpanzee, there are manifest resemblances to the magic of primitive people. Every one is familiar, since Seligman and others suggested it long ago, with the probability that the pictures of animals in the Magdalenian caves have a magical purpose. They are gestures, also, in the sense that they are actions not completed, but merely desired and expected to be completed in the reality of the successful tribal hunt. There is thus in them the element of will, conation, the Freudian 'wish,' intensely felt, which we have seen in the examples of human gesture just mentioned. Here it is a matter of life and death for the tribe. There is involved the naïve irrationality of action at a distance found in these impulsive human gestures; and there is, moreover, the identification of the magician-artist with the hunter miles away, similar to the unconscious identifications of the chimpanzee with her friend in the desired act of reaching the bananas, and of the human beings in the instances mentioned with those who were actually doing the thing, so that the artist in the cave is one with the hunter on the tundra, and that the mere gesture of his picture of the event becomes the event itself, and the magician's arm is the hunter's arm with enhanced and indeed infallible power.

There is a similar clue to the psychology of the matter in the words of R. R. Schmidt where referring to these earliest magical operations, he says that "the pictorial imagination conceives of "itself as empowered to make an impression on the "environment of life and circumstance by an "intensive act of the will, just as if it were a "thing" (a weapon, a missile, fire, etc.) and to



"transform that environment from one condition to another. This is the proto-logic or prelogic of the child-like stage of thought, which makes no certain difference between the subjective and the 'objective.'"<sup>1</sup> One is also taken a step further by the analysis of 'The Freudian Wish' by Edwin B. Holt in his book of that name. Wish or will he describes as "a course of action which the living body executes or is prepared to execute with regard to some object or some fact of its environment."<sup>2</sup> "In an organism", he continues, "which is about to perform some course of action with regard to its environment, the internal mechanism is more or less completely set for this performance beforehand. The purpose . . . is already embodied in . . . the motor attitude of the neuro-muscular apparatus." This is why "it is in some respects irrelevant whether the individual carries out its wish or not. Something may intervene so that the mechanism is not finally touched off . . . but that the individual ever developed such a set of the motor mechanism is the important point."<sup>3</sup>

There is a familiar example which suggests an analogy to magical rites forming the food animal abundant, in the flow of saliva on the perception of food, when the digestive mechanism is 'touched-off' before the time, and the action of digestion is performed as a mere gesture, since it may not be completed in reality. It is the individual reaching out in wish or will, under the impulse of bodily need and the promise of satisfaction in the environment, with appropriate actions of the bodily mechanism, towards food which is separated from it by both time and space. The resemblance is manifest here to magical actions of the clan in which the hunting or coming of the food-animal is dramatised with the purpose and sure hope of bringing it to pass. The complex gesture of the magical drama, separated from actuality by distance both of space and time, is the expression of the tribal will to live—of the will that what they wish to happen shall happen; and the mass emotion, the feeling of being together in the action, and all willing the same thing, deepens the sense of power to compel the event to come to pass.

<sup>1</sup> R. R. Schmidt: *The Dawn of the Human Mind*. London, 1938. pp. 103-5.

<sup>2</sup> E. B. Holt: *The Freudian Wish*. London, 1915. p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> *The Freudian Wish*. p. 59.

The pictures in the Magdalenian caves by the magician-artists illustrate further an inter-connexion between gesture, primitive art and magic. This connexion confirms the idea, otherwise suggested, that pictorial art originates in gesture with the hand. The gestures of speakers and orators are often picture-making, an outlining with the hand of the metaphor in the word—vastness represented by a wide sweep, smallness by the hands or fingers a little distance apart, and so forth; and picture-writing, that is, all writing, had the same source in gesture. These facts have a striking relation to a feature often remarked in the art of the caves, viz., that advantage is taken of some natural formation on the walls which suggests an animal, in order to complete the animal as a whole. "In the cave of La Ferrassie (Dordogne) the stone freaks of nature, adapted later, stand at the beginning of Aurignacian art. There a block of rock foreshadowed a roughly-formed animal's head, with some appearance of life; the artist gave it an ear, bored an eye, engraved a leg; and the animal became alive."<sup>4</sup> This has an important relation to the fact that in a child's first attempts at drawing, the sense which is consulted is not sight but touch. "The 'mental idea of the objective world', says Mr. Harold Speed, 'that has grown up in his mind' is . . . associated more directly with touch than with sight, with the felt shape rather than the visual appearance."<sup>5</sup> The child, therefore, draws a human face or an animal as a line, tracing out the shape in the outline much as he would feel it with his hands. This is the character of the drawing of primitive man also. One may imagine, then, the first primitive artist coming into the cave with some small light in his hand and with his mind full of the supreme interest of food for the tribe, when he sees on a natural boss of the wall some likeness to the hump and head of a bison or the haunch and hindlegs of a wild horse. In his imagination there is the full picture of the animal, and in the conative impulse of his will there is the wish that it may become food for the tribe; and then follows that motor 'set' of the body towards the fulfilment of the wish—the movement of its mechanism towards making the creature as real in material fact as it is in imagination. How

<sup>4</sup> *The Dawn of the Human Mind*. p. 127.

<sup>5</sup> Harold Speed: *The Practice and Science of Drawing*. London, 1935.



natural it then seems that the movement should take the form of a gesture of the hand which, with some hard sharp point, completes the outline of the animal. It may be added that the act of completing the whole shape out of the incomplete suggested form is an expression of the constructive impulse—the whole-making tendency which is a powerful motive in all creative work and art, and carries with it its own pleasure in the completeness. Thus the gesture becomes a work of art, and an act of magic.

Gesture, finally, is a link which unites magic and religious acts or ritual. In a monograph on two monuments of the solar cults<sup>6</sup> Franz Cumont analyses two gestures with the hands which are among the simplest and most universal in religion.

<sup>6</sup> F. Cumont: *Deux Monuments des Cultes Solaires*. Paris, 1933.

The one is the raising of the right hand in a gesture of reverence and worship, which, however, he suggests was originally apotropaic in function, warding off the terrible power of the deity. The other is the gesture of the two hands extended together in the attitude of appeal or supplication. In truth, these are the two most fundamental gestures of the hands as affecting man's life. All action has for its end either the preservation or the enhancement of life; it has been truly said to be at bottom either a pushing or a pulling of our environment,<sup>7</sup> that is, an averting of what is harmful to life or a drawing to one of what is good for life. It is thus either apotropaic or attractive as are these simplest gestures of religion.

<sup>7</sup> A. D. Ritchie: *The Natural History of Mind*. London, 1935. p. 12; cf. p. 30.

**SOME NOTES ON A HUNGARIAN COPPER AXE-HAMMER.** By H. H. Coghlan, A.M.I.M.E., F.R.A.I., Boxford, Newbury, Berks. Illustrated.

**143** Through the kindness of Mr. H. J. E. Peake, M.A., F.S.A., Curator of the Newbury Museum, I am able to make the

following report on an interesting Hungarian axe-hammer, or battle-axe, from this collection. The axe was originally in the private collection

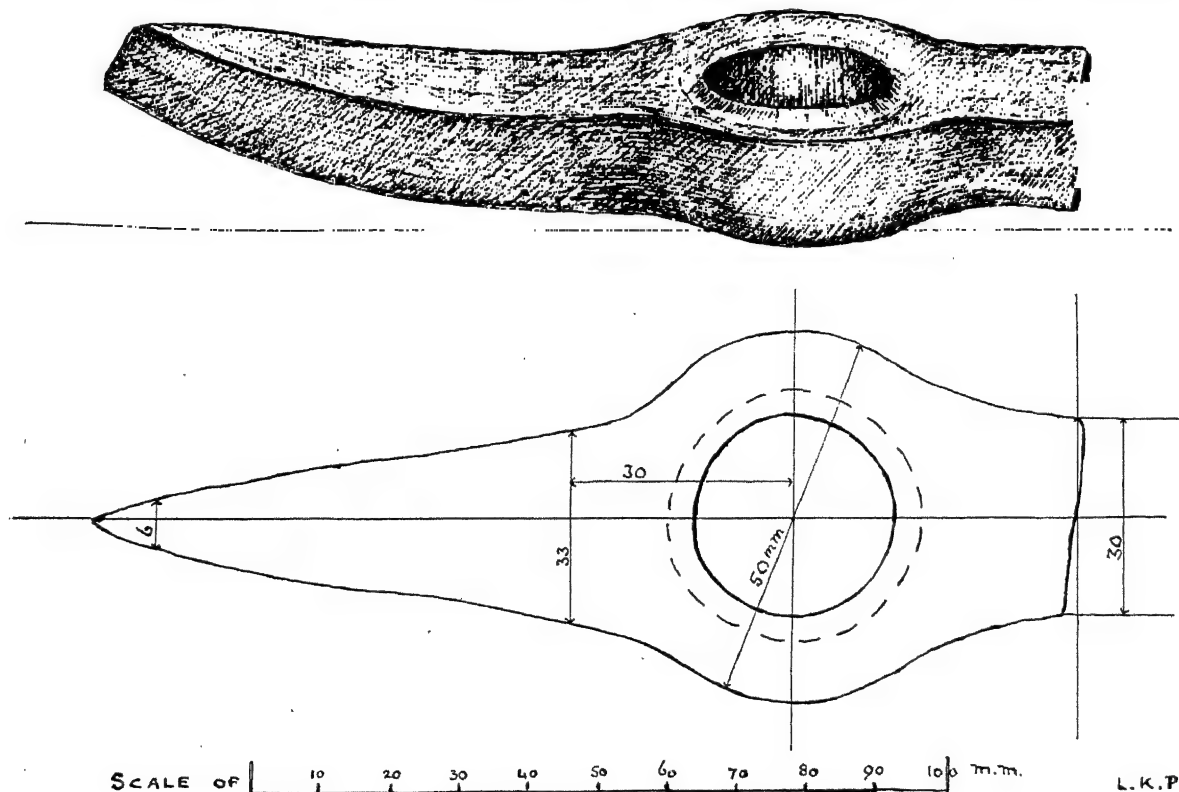


FIG. 1. A HUNGARIAN COPPER AXE IN THE NEWBURY MUSEUM.

of the late Professor Fummerspack, professor of the Technical School at Munich; it was acquired by Mr. Peake in April 1914.

The axe is of particular interest for the following reasons—

(1) It would seem to have been made from Hungarian native copper.

(2) As an example of casting in native copper at an early date.

(3) As a casting of the closed-mould type without the usual tin-content in the metal. In this case the tin-content is replaced by lead.

#### *Description of the Axe.*

*Type.*—The specimen is typical of the Hungarian copper axes. It most likely belongs to the Danubian III period. Childe, *Dawn of European Civilisation* (1939) (pp. 109, 110, fig. 52-53), illustrates Hungarian copper axes of Danubian III (Bodrogeresztur culture) which resemble the Newbury axe in various ways. It seems probable that this axe pre-dated the dawn of the bronze age in Danubian IV, that is, before about 1600—1700 B.C.

*Technique.*—Inspection of the untouched surfaces of the copper shows clearly that the axe is a casting. The surface is rough, and the weapon has the appearance of having been cast in a roughly finished stone mould, or possibly a poor moulding-sand or clay was used. The surface roughness is due to most of the weapon having been 'left as cast.' The roughness is not due to corrosion; the copper is remarkably free from any corrosion wastage. There is clearly no question of the weapon having been forged, or cut out of a piece of solid copper. The method used in the casting of this implement is not at once apparent. As it is not a flat axe, it could not have been cast in a simple open mould. The rough 'unfettled' surfaces of the casting do not show any joint line such as would occur had any prehistoric divided mould been used, since the two sections of the mould never made an absolutely accurate register. It thus seems probable that a rough *cire perdue* process was used for making this casting.

The shaft-hole is very nearly circular; on the average it is not more than 0.5 mm. out of truth on the diameter. The hole was not punched, and it may have been roughly cast in, and then finished off, using some form of emery drill. The

bell-mouth and taper of the hole is what one would expect if an emery drill had been used; the inside of the shaft hole is smooth, which suggests finishing by drilling or grinding. It will be noticed that the taper of the shaft hole is reversed with relation to the shaft entry. This ingenious idea would give a very secure fixing of the head to the shaft if a wedge was used as in a modern hand-hammer. The slightly raised flange round the shaft hole is formed in the casting, not by hammering, or by the shaft hole having been punched.

*Analysis.*—"Reports on filings from a copper "axe hammer from Hungary, received from "Mr. H. J. E. Peake, by Dr. Desch, National "Physical Laboratory, June 24th, 1939. The "filings were examined by the method of spark "spectrography, using pure copper as the second "electrode. Lead was found in appreciable "quantity, silver being rather less, and a trace of "nickel being detected. Tin, iron, antimony, "bismuth and silicon were absent. The analysis "seems to point to a native copper, many "examples of which are recorded from "Hungary."

Such evidence as we have with regard to the early copper of Hungary would indicate that there must have been a considerable industry in the manufacture of implements and weapons from the local deposits of native copper. Dr. Desch has kindly informed me that, on the slopes of the Matra-gebirge, not far from Erlau, masses of native copper up to 15 kg. were found on the surface in lumps, sheets, and jagged masses. It is also found in the Altgebirge.<sup>1</sup>

Witter<sup>2</sup> says, it is very probable that in Hungary in the earliest metal times the copper made use of was of native origin, he also gives analyses<sup>3</sup> of metal objects from Hungary which are probably made of native copper. These analyses show that the copper is very pure; usually it contains only traces of lead and silver, other impurities being absent. This lends further support to the theory that the Newbury axe also is made of copper which originated in the native copper deposits of Hungary.

<sup>1</sup> V. COTTA. *Die Erzlagerstätten Ungarns und Siebenbürgens*. Freiburg. 1861. pp. 144, 195.

<sup>2</sup> WITTER. *Die Älteste Erzgewinnung im nordisch-germanischen Lebenskreis*. Leipzig. 1938. I. p. 116.

<sup>3</sup> WITTER. *l.c.* I. p. 226. Taf I. 47, 53, 55, 56.

## REVIEWS.

## RELIGION.

**Afrikanische Priestertümer.** By Adolf Friedrich.  
 (Forschungsinstitut für Kulturmorphologie: Studien zur Kulturkunde, Band VI) Stuttgart, 1939: Strecker und Schröder. x + 391 pp.

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This volume is one of a series of studies inaugurated by Dr. Leo Frobenius, and consists mainly in a collection of texts from various sources illustrating his theory of the historical 'stratification' of religious cults in Africa. Three religious 'strata' are distinguished, that of the Erythraean king-cultures, that of the Ethiopian agricultural cultures, and that of the initiation-cultures of the *Urvaldgebiet*. Of these the first is dismissed with a short outline, as a subject requiring a full volume for adequate treatment. We are told that the relative absence of local variation in the king-cultures indicates that they entered Africa in a fully developed form. In the case of the Ethiopian cultures an outline of their main sociological characteristics is quoted from Frobenius; nowhere else is any attempt made to place the religious elements described in their sociological context. The Ethiopian cultures are characterized by initiation ceremonies in which the clan is the religious unit, the ancestors of the whole community are worshipped in a collective ceremony. The secret society is a development of the initiation ceremony. It appears to be considered characteristic of both (though it is only specifically stated of the Ethiopian cultures), that they are marked by a sternly realistic acceptance of the inevitable, which was later overlaid and deformed by ideas regarding the possibility of foreseeing and controlling the future. The evidence for this somewhat arbitrary separation of beliefs which can be observed to be inextricably linked almost anywhere in Africa, is the assertion that in the Ethiopian cultures the spirits of the dead are held to be unable to influence the fate of their descendants and to remain in their graves until they are reincarnated. The origin of magical beliefs is ascribed to hunting peoples, on the basis of legends collected by Frobenius in West Africa which describe the assistance given to hunters by supernatural beings. The author does not explicitly state that this area represents a separate *Kulturkreis*, nor does he make it clear whether we are to assume that hunting originated in the West. More than half the book is taken up with the discussion of different types of magical belief, the geographical distribution of those which are regarded as most important—the belief in witches who remove their victim's soul from his body, in leopard-men, and in supernatural possession—being plotted on maps.

A greater number of pages are covered with short references establishing the presence in different tribes of these various culture-traits, than with the exposition of the author's theories; the latter are often confined to *obiter dicta*. He does, however, illustrate his theme with one example of a cultural mixture—the *kubandwa*-cult of Ruanda, in which a 'prophet' of the god Ryangombe is ceremonially initiated by the group of already-initiated prophets. Here the organization and procedure of initiation are ascribed to the stratum of initiation and secret societies; the character of the deity worshipped, and the shamanistic experiences of the prophet, to the king-culture; while the fact that offerings are made to the initiate's own ancestors as well as to Ryangombe derives from the stratum of clan-ancestor-worship.

To anthropologists who have studied the process of culture contact in the field, the author's conceptions will appear to bear but little relation to reality. One does

not observe a religion travelling like a self-contained, almost material, entity, and depositing itself, or parts of itself, where they remain, clearly distinguishable, for the ethnographer to pick out and identify. Even granted the point, which Dr. Friedrich barely even suggests, that the successive waves of belief are supposed to have travelled not in isolation but along with the other cultural characteristics of their carriers, this is simply not what the diffusion of cultures is like. It is an infinitely more complex process of action and reaction, setting up strains and conflicts, in which the source of the cultural traits involved seems to most modern students in this country to be of far less importance than the light which the process itself may throw on the essential nature of human institutions.

In modern conditions it is impossible to observe any process of culture change, that is not at the same time one of cultural diffusion. Yet one can say with equal confidence that problems of cultural evolution, of the type here suggested for study—such as the question whether a priesthood could develop from the wearing by one member of a secret society of a mask representing a supernatural being—are not those which confront the student in real life. Indeed Dr. Friedrich's whole thesis, resting as it does on the assumption that magical and religious beliefs can be easily identified and separated, can hardly arouse much interest in those who have followed the series of attempts at definition to their culmination in the conception of magic and religion as two aspects of a single complex of attitudes and practices.

Nearly every field-worker has experienced the difficulty, when using ethnographical data from other areas than his own, that these accounts, owing to the different interests of their authors, lack precision on just the subject which is to him of paramount importance. Dr. Friedrich does not seem to have found this an obstacle; indeed he has sometimes followed rather uncritically the words rather than the intention of his authorities. For example, the account of religion in Roscoe's *Baganda*, with its frequent references to the 'mediums' of the various divinities, is quoted in more than one context. But though the word is obviously intended to describe the shamanism in which Ganda religion closely resembles the *kubandwa*-cult which our author describes in such detail, he does not seem to have found anything in Roscoe which would lead him to refer to the Baganda in his section on shamanism.

He is very uncritical too in his attitude to negative evidence. Frobenius did not find a single magical object in the Ethiopian culture area. Munzinger, however, saw many amulets, but found no belief in spirits. Schweinfurth found a widespread belief in witches among the Bongo. This does not suggest to him, however, any re-examination of the material. Such discrepancies are lightly dismissed as regional variations. Any theory of culture areas could be supported by this type of evidence.

Periodicals quoted do not include the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Africa*. Since Dr. Friedrich's study does not probe deeper than those superficial cultural characteristics, on which we need not doubt the reliability of early observers, the fact that in many cases he does not refer to the most modern accounts can be understood; but the absence of any mention of such an important work, bearing directly upon his subject, as Evans-Pritchard's account of Zande magical beliefs, is a more serious omission.

L. P. MAIR.

**Moses and Monotheism.** By Sigmund Freud. Translated from the German by Katherine Jones. London: Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psychoanalysis, 1939. 8vo. 216 pp. Glossary and index.

Parts I and II of this book were published in German in *Imago* in 1937; Part III appeared for the first time in this volume shortly before the distinguished author's most regrettable decease. The whole work must be regarded as an essay in the interpretation of history in the light of the Oedipus Complex and of the origins of society as set forth by the same author's *Totem and Taboo*, to which the present volume can be regarded as in some sense a sequel. Put very briefly the author's theme is that religion must be looked upon as a neurosis—"religious phenomena are to be understood only on the model of the neurotic symptoms of the individual"—the obsessive character of which derives its effect on mankind from the underlying element of fact; that is, from the original act of assassination and deglutition of the primeval father, as described in *Totem and Taboo*. The repressed memory of this act gives rise to consciousness of guilt, to an intense ecstasy of submission to the deity, and to a transport of devotion to God.

This theme is applied to the history of the Hebrews and to the history of Judaism and of Christianity. Moses, the founder of Judaism, was not himself a Jew but an Egyptian, the story of his origin being a variant of the familiar myth of Sargon, Perseus, and other heroes committed in infancy to the waters in an 'ark.' His religion was derived from the monotheism introduced in Egypt by Akhenaten, father-in-law of Tutankhamen. After Moses had been killed by rebellious converts, who re-enacted in his murder that of the primeval father, and perhaps created by their guilty feelings the wish-phantasy for the Messiah, the pure monotheism of the Mosaic religion was submerged by the henotheistic religion of the volcano-god Jahve, superimposed by tribes with whom the Israelites amalgamated. At the same time the tradition of a god who required a truthful and a contrite heart rather than burnt offerings and sacrifices was perpetuated, by the Levites in particular, and survived to develop into a higher spirituality. The Jewish practice of circumcision "is the symbolical substitute of castration, a punishment which the primeval father dealt his sons . . . out of the fulness of his power; and whosoever accepted this symbol showed by so doing that he was ready to submit to the father's will." In Christianity, which is a retrogression from the pure heights of Judaism, the doctrine of Original Sin reflects the feeling of guilt after the assassination of the primeval father, while the memory of the act of cannibalism which followed it is preserved in the Sacrament. The doctrine of the Atonement likewise recalls the replacement of the primeval father by his eldest son and the sacrifice of that son for the guilt of his brothers.

It may be surmised that few will be found to accept the author's exposition of Judaic and Christian monotheism without considerable reserve. Apart from doubt as to whether it is safe to generalize on data provided by neurotic individuals, the premisses involve acceptance of the theory of the primeval father, his rebellious and cannibalistic sons, and their exogamous self-denial. The argument '*credo quia absurdum*' may have done for Tertullian or for Robert Burton, but can hardly do for science. Incidentally, the hypothesis of Moses' association with the religion of Aton involves considerable adjustment of the accepted dates for the Exodus.

Several of the arguments used in the course of developing the theme seem questionable. Thus the statement

that monotheism is responsible for religious intolerance, which was foreign to antiquity before Amenhotep introduced the Aton religion "and for long after" (p. 35), seems to be contradicted in the following sentence, which describes that creed as proscribed and effectually stamped out after seventeen years. Again an inference from name to race (p. 14) is anything but conclusive, while the alleged inaccessibility of the Mosaic religion to the penetration of superstitions, or of magical and mystical elements, is, in face of, say, the Book of Leviticus, a most unconvincing hypothesis. On the other hand there is, as one would expect, a great deal that is arresting and suggestive in many passages in the book; in the treatment of religion as a neurotic phenomenon, for instance; in the suggestion that the transition from the prehuman to humanity is associated with a latency period and delayed sexuality; in the treatment of instinct as inherited memory, and of magic as based on the development of language and on the 'omnipotence of thoughts.'

*Moses and Monotheism* may add little to the deservedly great reputation of its author, but that authorship alone will ensure its being read, and the fact that part, at any rate, of this work has been first published here, and in English, is a tribute to this country on which we may legitimately congratulate ourselves.

J. H. HUTTON.

**The Jewish World in the Time of Jesus.** By C. Guignebert. (English Translation by S. H. Hooke.) London: Kegan Paul, 1939. 288 pp. Price 21s. net.

By three admirable translations of works of outstanding importance Professor S. H. Hooke has made accessible to a larger circle of English readers the results of recent investigation in Palestine and the allied cultures extending from the first occupation of the country by the Hebrew tribes to their final dispersion over the face of the earth. The book before us is the last of the trio. The two earlier volumes, by Professor Lods, deal with Israel from its beginnings to the prophetic period and the rise of Judaism. Professor Guignebert now takes up the story and proceeds to a detailed study of the political and religious conditions of Palestine at the dawn of the Christian era, the innovations and foreign influences current at this time, the nature of Jewish religious life with its various schools of thought and sectarian divisions, a survey of Hellenistic Judaism among the Diaspora, and the reciprocal influence of Judaism and paganism in the Empire.

Unlike Dr. Foakes Jackson, Professor Guignebert regards Josephus as an unreliable source of information—"neither the man nor his work," he says, "is of the first quality." He is accused of such "daring flights of fancy as the transformation of the Pharisees and Sadducees into philosophical sects who discuss free-will and immortality of the soul; of wilful omissions, such as that of all reference to the Messianic expectations of the Jews; and of interpretations which are obviously and consciously false, such as that which throws the whole responsibility for the revolt on to a few fanatics, so that the Jewish people as a whole may appear blameless in the matter." Nevertheless, he is prepared to grant that, apart from him, it would be impossible to reconstruct the Græco-Roman period of Jewish history.

Throughout the whole of the post-exilic epoch Judaism was in process of modification by contacts with the surrounding civilizations—Babylonian, Iranian and Hellenistic—which had a profound effect on the religious outlook and produced a new attitude to the *Torah* (the

Law) as the keystone of the whole edifice of priestly authority. The process, however, as an unconscious permeation of ideas, resulted in a permanent syncretistic culture. Professor Guignebert has to say on this important aspect of the culture is of very considerable interest to anthropologists, and will merit careful study in relation to examples of similar contacts between other civilizations in the Ancient East or elsewhere.

In his analysis of the various currents of orthodox religious life, he concentrates on the Sadducees, the Pharisees, the Zealots and the Essenes in order to determine the real nature of Judaism in Palestine just before the Christian era. He realizes, however, the complexity of the period with cross-currents of thought that cannot be brought within a single framework. This is further illustrated by the existence of sects in Judaism though the evidence concerning their precise nature and character is meagre. Outside Palestine the Jew, though living an independent life as a community or 'synagogue' in a separate quarter of a town, was not free of their fear of contamination by contacts with the Gentile world and came under the influence of the Hellenistic Greek environment. Thus arose a Hellenized Judaism favourable to Greek philosophy, so that a syncretism, at once intellectual and religious, gradually developed. This fostered the creation of new sects and a Jewish *gnosis*. Conversely, the translation of the Scriptures into Greek (LXX) extended Jewish influence in the Gentile world, though after the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 the propagandist spirit of Judaism rapidly declined under the stress of misfortune and before the rising tide of Christianity.

E. O. JAMES.

#### Christianity and Morals. By Edward Westermarck.

London: Kegan Paul, 1939. 427 pp. Price 21s.

147 It is appropriate that the last volume to appear from the pen of Dr. Westermarck before his lamented death should deal with an aspect of the subject with which his name will always be honourably connected. No other anthropologist has made quite such an exhaustive study of marriage and morals, and his massive erudition is almost overpowering. With significant exceptions, there seems to be scarcely a book in any European language bearing on his investigation which he has not consulted, and if the results are hardly commensurate with the learning displayed, it is partly because he fails to see the wood for the trees. Indeed, if he had dug a little more deeply into the roots of the matter, and looked a less intently on superficial appearances, he might have arrived at rather different conclusions. He would then have known that many of the questions he has raised have been adequately answered by such competent authorities as Professor A. E. Taylor, Dr. Rashdall, Dr. K. E. Kirk and Professor de Burgh, to mention but a few moralists who have gone to the heart of the problem.

Starting from his former assumption, stated in earlier works, that all moral concepts which are used as predicates in moral judgments are ultimately based on one or other of the two emotions, moral approval and moral disapproval or indignation, he proceeds to a subjective feeling devoid of objective validity. In the light of this theory, which is rejected by all exponents of normative ethics, he proceeds to an examination of religion and morality in general, and of Christian ethics in particular. For the anthropologist the first two chapters are of interest inasmuch as they review briefly the foundations of the moral consciousness in relation to this theory of the emotional origin of moral judgments.

Every 'ought' judgment, he maintains, contains implicitly a prohibition of that which ought not to be done. Thus he reverses the Pauline precept, making it read, 'where no transgression is, there is no law.' 'Right' is what is in conformity to duty, and to have 'a right' to do a thing is to be allowed to do it, either legally or morally. 'A Supreme Being who is regarded as all-good is not called virtuous' because the epithet is given with reference to some kind or kinds of goodness. But for the most part the gods of primitive people, it is contended, are of a malevolent character, and only gradually become the embodiments of moral perfection and ethical ideals. Nevertheless, while P. W. Schmidt has greatly exaggerated the ethical qualities of tribal All-Fathers, High Gods do appear to represent the highest evaluation of which the mind is capable in a given state of culture, and usually they are regarded as a transcendent source of beneficence and the guardian of right conduct.

Passing to the main theme of the volume, Dr. Westermarck maintains that the ethics of Jesus were based on 'disinterested retributive justice,' i.e., on rewards and punishments, but while there may be an element of truth in this, the fact remains that in the Synoptic Gospels the whole duty of man is summarized in the words "thou shalt love the Lord thy God . . . and thy neighbour as thyself." This was the foundation principle of the Christian ethic. Next the Pauline influence is discussed and particular stress is laid on the effect of the doctrine of the atonement on the moral issue. The antithesis between faith and works is further considered in the following chapters in relation to the teaching of the early Fathers culminating in the Augustinian-Pelagian controversy. The teaching of St. Augustine is regarded as a Pauline influence, and the prevailing piety, and in the opinion of the author, Pelagianism on its moral side is superior to either the Catholic or the Protestant theory of grace, inasmuch as it lays stress on righteous conduct rather than on justification by faith, though it should be noted that Catholicism also recognizes the intrinsic merit of good works.

In the second part of the book, Dr. Westermarck deals with the practical application of Christian morality to such matters as asceticism, war, regard for human life, slavery, divorce and the relation of the sexes, and regard for the lower animals. Space prevents a detailed examination of this section of the volume, but it may be pointed out that if, as the author seems to think, the Church ought to be indiscriminating in its complete pacificism, and to condemn all wars irrespective of their occasion and significance, it is hardly fair to upbraid it for its opposition to infanticide (not to be confused with birth prevention), a practice that is surely impossible to defend on any system of civilized ethics. In short, as a scientific treatise the book fails because it is in the nature of a Celsian attack on Christianity rather than an impartial examination of a highly complex situation in which there are many pros and cons.

Thus, for example, the question of the attitude of Christianity to slavery bristles with difficulties, but the Church should at least be given credit for the part it played in the final abolition of the evil. Similarly in the matter of economics, about which Dr. Westermarck has much to say, if more might, and ought, to have been done in the creation of higher standards of living and administration, it has to be remembered that most of the abuses of modern capitalism arose when Christianity had ceased to be the controlling force in society, and its place had been taken by a secularized culture which subordinated spiritual values to material ends and interests.

E. O. JAMES.



**Anthropology and Religion.** By Peter H. Buck. Yale University Press, 1939. 96 pp. Price \$1.50.

148 Of the numerous volumes published under the Dwight D. Torrey Foundation at Yale University, this is the first attempt to bring anthropology within the scope of the lectureship, established to interpret the results of scientific investigation in relation to religion and for 'the improvement of human conditions.' To these ends the founder desired the lectures to be given by 'men eminent in their respective departments' without reference to any philosophical or theological test, and having 'complete freedom of utterance,' that 'the Christian spirit may be nurtured in the fullest light of the world's knowledge.' In the selection of Dr. Buck as the exponent of the anthropological standpoint, the choice fell on a Polynesian scholar of Maori extraction, born in New Zealand and long resident in the Islands. As Director of the Bishop Museum in Honolulu, and Professor of Anthropology at Yale, he brings to his task the knowledge of a trained anthropologist who has gained an insight into his subject from within in a manner that falls to the lot of few exponents of native beliefs and customs. Moreover, Polynesia is an instructive field for the study of the growth, elaboration, and decay of social and religious institutions, which is the subject of these lectures.

The course opens with an account of the deification of certain chiefs described in terms of Tylorian animism and Spencerian ancestor-worship. From dreams man is supposed to have come to a knowledge of a separable immortal soul, which was raised to divine rank in the case of illustrious ancestors, to whom were assigned supernatural powers by their descendants. The family medium became the tribal priest, and when the ancestral god developed into a national deity, the priest acquired great power which he passed on in the male line. The simple family shrine became a temple with a complex cultus, and in due course a human victim was substituted for an earlier offering of fish. While developments of this nature may have occurred in certain instances, for reasons which often have been stated, the theory of unilateral evolution along these lines encounters formidable difficulties as a general hypothesis. Indeed, Dr. Buck himself records the existence of an 'esoteric monotheistic school' in New Zealand, in which a High God of the Creator type is not a deified ancestor, since he is said to have had 'no parents but 'simply came into being.' He was regarded as the source of all knowledge and independent of the lesser gods, though responsible for the creation of 'the existing pattern of religion.' Man may have deified his heroes, but this practice does not explain *in toto* the original concept of deity.

In the second lecture the creation of man is discussed. Originally (it is affirmed) the gods were thought to have had human parents, but in order to give them a greater prestige and a supernatural origin, as the creators of the human race, they were made the offspring of the Sky-father and the Earth-mother. But such a reversal of technique has yet to be demonstrated, and this would require much fuller treatment than is possible within the space of one lecture. Passing to the 'death of the gods,' we are on firmer ground. Missionaries following in the wake of early voyagers and traders, introduced a religion that had been evolved in a different cultural setting, and carried with it its own cultural values. The death of the Polynesian gods resulted in profound changes, which disorganized society and wrecked the native arts and crafts. The missionary methods seem to have been singularly unenlightened, and Dr. Buck's

analysis of the situation should be pondered by those responsible for the introduction of Western civilization and beliefs into native communities.

Despite these mistakes, religion, it is pointed out, is 'an essential part of the culture of any people.' The opinion of the author, 'the death of the gods would mean the collapse of the culture to which they belong, just as surely as the death of the Polynesian gods led to the end of Polynesian culture.' Anthropologists of the 'functional school' will agree when he says that 'the things man has created with his mind and worshipped with his spirit have reality,' quite apart from 'whether the supernatural and immortality can be proved or disproved scientifically.' As a student of the manners, customs and thoughts of peoples, he is concerned with beliefs that must be accepted as real facts, because they have led to action and results.

Though some of the conclusions in these lectures are open to question, he has developed a theme which is relevant to the present crisis in civilization.

E. O. JAMES.

**Comparative Religion.** By Dr. E. O. James. London: Methuen. 1939. xii + 374 pp.

149 Dr. James' book should be a valuable aid to two classes of readers—to those who seek a general knowledge of the history of religion from the most primitive to the most highly developed cults, and to those who want a jumping-off ground for an intensive study of any of these cults.

The 'Introduction' provides a conspectus of the methods employed in the investigation of primitive religion. The chapter on 'Religious Origins' is a clear and fair criticism and appreciation of past and present theories of the origins of religion summed up in the concluding words—"the essence of religion in its most rudimentary form is to be sought, not in the rival claims of society and of the individual and a wholly mystical collective consciousness, nor in crude philosophic speculations concerning souls, ghosts and ancestors, but in the recognition of a transcendent order and the elaboration of a technique to enable man to deal with the unpredictable and inexplicable elements in human experience, whether individual or collective, in this world and beyond the grave."

The chapter on 'The Magic Art' differentiates clearly between magic and religion, refuses to assign priority to magic, and claims that magic and religion were simultaneous efforts of the mind of primitive man.

The chapters dealing with the 'higher' religions, cover much ground in what is necessarily a short space, but the manner and the matter are such as to inspire readers to further study.

At the moment when Dr. Toynbee, in the last three volumes of *The Study of History*, has put forward his theory of what happens when circumstances offer a civilization a challenge which it cannot meet, it is interesting to read in Dr. James' concluding chapter, "but [society] having established its ideals, the great test is whether there is sufficient ability to approximate to them, and to bring a new vision of reality into line with that which has preceded it."

To sum up the value of this book we may use Dr. James' concluding words—"the history of religion throughout the ages makes it abundantly clear that in every phase of society religion exercises a cultural function by supplying the spiritual force indispensable for the cohesion of the social fabric."

The book is fully documented, and has a valuable bibliography.

E. A. SHATTOCK.



## GENERAL.

**Migration and Environment.** By H. L. Shapiro. Issued under the auspices of the University of Hawaii. Oxford University Press, 1939. xi + 594 pp. Price 32s. 6d.

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Mankind has always been migratory, but recent technological developments have so speeded up the means of travel that the human species can now transplant itself in a way that has no parallel in the rest of the animal world. Dr. Shapiro's book deals with a single example of mass movement, namely, the labour emigration from Japan to Hawaii, and in it an attempt is made to ascertain whether such a phenomenon has any effect on the physical type of the people concerned.

The material discussed has been taken from three sources. It comprises (a) members of families resident in Japan which have supplied immigrants to Hawaii, termed by Dr. Shapiro *Sedentes*, (b) Japanese immigrants resident in Hawaii itself, termed *Immigrants*, and (c) the inbred descendants of the latter, termed *Hawaiian-born*. The Immigrants and Hawaiian-born were chosen to provide representative samples of the populations to which they belonged, and the Sedentes were chosen on the basis of their contemporary blood-relationship with the Immigrants. The field data consist mainly of quantitative body measurements of subjects of both sexes, but a few of the more reliable qualitative characters, e.g., hair and eye colour, are also included. In order to ensure their strict comparability, all the observations were made by a single worker, Dr. Frederick S. Hulse, one of the most competent of the younger generation of American physical anthropologists.

From an initial consideration of absolute measurements and indices, two main conclusions emerge. In the first place, the Immigrants appear to be a selected and not a random sample of the general population of Japan. Secondly, the Hawaiian-born both preserve and enhance the peculiarities of the Immigrants. Closer analysis, however, shows that the Immigrants are distinguished from the Sedentes by physical traits too marked to be ascribed to chance alone, while the Hawaiian-born differ from the Immigrants only to a slight degree, except in the case of cephalic and facial measurements, where the distinction continues to be significant. Both sexes undergo roughly the same changes, but for the most part these are of less moment in the females than in the males.

The number of subjects included in the three principal series of the study, Sedentes, Immigrants and Hawaiian-born, was two thousand six hundred. After reaching the conclusions referred to in the preceding paragraph, Dr. Shapiro sub-divided these series in various ways, with the object of detecting any inconsistencies that might have arisen as a result of neglecting regional, occupational, age and other factors, only to find that the sub-groups repeated the pattern of the three principal series. The representative samples from different Japanese prefectures differed appreciably from one another, but the Immigrants displayed a remarkable inter-prefectural uniformity in their distinctive traits. This piece of evidence encourages the belief in a social or economic selection of the migrants, and the point seems to be well made that a movement like the one described does in fact involve certain consequences, in so far as the type of the transported population is concerned. The real significance of Dr. Shapiro's book, however, turns on the extent to which his results affect our present conceptions of physical anthropology.

It is generally assumed that the determinants of physical features are genetic rather than environmental in nature, and there is a great deal of evidence to support

such a view. At the same time it must not be forgotten that the mode of inheritance of quantitative characters among human beings depends on an indeterminate number of factors. From this two implications arise. Firstly, polymeric characters are much more sensitive to external influence than those determined by single genes, since in such cases there is often a close relationship between their physical and physiological properties, so that indirect effects may be very widespread. Secondly, the environment, even if it has no direct influence on the gene-complex, may severely affect its expression and thus its true nature. Now it is difficult to see how a masking effect of the environment could be held responsible for the peculiarities of the Immigrants in Dr. Shapiro's study, for these subjects were mature before reaching Hawaii and could not therefore be easily affected by new environmental conditions. His inference that the Immigrant characters are fundamentally genotypic is in consequence apparently justified. But, on the basis of what has just been said, it is important to realize that the peculiar features mentioned may be purely secondary to some physiological or even psychological property—part of the same gene-complex—which is the actual factor involved in the selection. Furthermore, there are inadequate grounds for supposing that such a form of selection is cumulative or could in any way produce an effect comparable to a new type of *Homo sapiens*. This seems to be supported by the fact that the differences between Hawaiian-born and Immigrants are merely those of degree and may be due to the influence of environment on genetical expression alone. If this is so, the changes might be expected to become rapidly static, and thus the selective effect on the gene-complex would be strictly limited in extent. The only way to test the validity of such a suggestion would be to continue the experiment over a number of generations and, if possible, to make observations of a sample of Hawaiian-born brought back to Japan—both extraordinarily difficult feats to accomplish.

By reason of its unavoidably limited application, Dr. Shapiro's investigation cannot be said to affect the prevailing notions of human types or races, but it brings home in a healthy way the fluidity of all animal species, and in particular the biologically recent example of man. The key to the problem lies in genetics. Unfortunately, however, this is such a young science that it has so far been of little help to anthropology. *Migration and Environment* is a careful piece of what is essentially pioneer work. The material collected is presented in a manner that enables the reader to gain periodic general views of the problem without being inundated with figures, which are conveniently given in tabular form at the end of the book. H. R. ROSS.

**The Mind of Primitive Man.** By Franz Boas. Revised Edition. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1938. x + 285 pp. Price 12s. 6d. net.

151

This is a new edition of the book published by Professor Boas in 1911 which has for many years been used as a standard text-book in the United States. It has been revised throughout, new matter, constituting about a third of the volume, has been added, and the arrangement into chapters has been altered, there being thirteen chapters in place of ten.

The first part of the book is a scientific examination of the supposed distinction of races as superior and inferior. It is an admirable relatively simple discussion of the nature of race and as such can be strongly recommended to beginning students in anthropology. One wishes that these chapters could be widely read by the

general public as an antidote to fallacious thinking about race.

Chapter 8 deals with the relations between race or physical type, language, and culture; and chapters 9 to 12 contain a general discussion of culture and its development with special reference to the mental differences between 'primitive man' and ourselves.

The work of Professor Boas has had a profound influence on the development of anthropology in the United States. The present volume may also be recommended as an exposition of what may be called the American point of view in cultural anthropology in its strength and in its weakness. The fundamental weakness is the tendency to consider culture in abstraction from society. Sociological interpretations of what are really social phenomena are therefore rejected, without consideration, in favour of explanations in terms of 'psychology,' which is not however the psychology of the experimental laboratory but the psychology of common sense. An example of this type of 'psychological' explanation is the following:—"The mere statement that primitive man considers the animals as gifted with all the qualities of man shows that the analogy between many of the qualities of animals and human qualities has led to the view that all the qualities of animals are human. The fact that the land of shadows is so often placed in the west suggests its localization at the place where the sun and the stars vanish." (p. 194).

There appears to have been some carelessness in the revision either of the proof or of the manuscript with the result that there are sentences which, as they stand, convey no meaning. Examples are the first and the third sentences on page 174.

A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN.

**Nutrition in the Colonial Empire.** *First Report of the Economic Advisory Council's Committee. Parts I, II. London: Stationery Office, 1939. (Cmd. 6050-51.) 210 and 146 pp. Price, I, 3s. 0d.; II, 2s. 6d.*

The 'steady broadening of the foundations of social policy,' to which the Secretary of State for the Colonies refers in his preface, has reached the fundamental question of the nutrition of the native inhabitants. Obviously this concerns Colonial Governments, and they have been asked to keep the Secretary of State informed of action taken. Principal subjects of inquiry are the desirable additions to colonial diets, by way of new crops, animal husbandry, milk and milk products, fish, and concentrated food stuffs. The collection, and purchase of such food stuffs present difficulties; and there is the further 'factor of ignorance' among the populations whose diet is in question.

There is no need to analyse such a report in detail; its utility is obvious, and it will certainly be widely read.

J. L. M.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### The Extension of Neanderthal Man into North Africa.

**153** SIR,—The Mousterian culture has been known for a long time in North Africa, but it was not until recently that skeletal remains attributable to *Homo neanderthalensis* were discovered in this region. The distribution of Neanderthal man in the Mediterranean countries is such as to suggest that the Neanderthaloid culture of North Africa was actually manufactured by Neanderthal man himself. Remains of this culture to the Mediterranean countries, and remains of Neanderthal man have been found in Gibraltar, Spain, Italy, Malta, Croatia, and Palestine. Dr. A. Hrdlička ten years ago<sup>1</sup> had rightly included North Africa in the area of distribution of Neanderthal man.

A year ago there came to light some direct evidence indicating that *Homo neanderthalensis* lived in North Africa, and manufactured the Middle Palaeolithic culture of this region. This is the Tangier man, represented by a fragmentary maxilla and an isolated M<sup>2</sup> tooth, representing two individuals, which were excavated by Dr. Carleton S. Coon in May, 1939.

The fossils were discovered with a culture of Middle Palaeolithic association in the red No. 2 layer of the high cave (Mugharet el' Aliya), one of the Caves of Hercules, in the vicinity of the international zone of Tangier, Morocco. Dr. C. S. Coon kindly entrusted the description of these fossils, which has since been published,<sup>2</sup> to the writer.

The maxillary fragment belongs to a child of about nine years of age, while the worn isolated molar belongs

to a second and older individual. The maxilla, which is large and thick, is characterized by the lack of a canine fossa, and by the outward and backward slope of the zygomatic process of the maxilla. The second premolar canine and the first premolar were also present in the maxilla, and being well preserved they furnished a valuable bases for comparison. The permanent teeth extracted from the maxilla as well as the isolated molar indicate a close relationship with Neanderthal man.

As far as our evidence goes, the maxilla and the teeth, as a whole, are distinguished from *Sinanthropus* and *Homo sapiens*. Furthermore, the comparison has established the fact that in most of his diagnostic features Tangier man agrees with Neanderthal man, and hence should apparently be included in the species *Homo neanderthalensis*.

The evidence indicates that Neanderthal man also lived in North Africa and manufactured the Mousterian culture of this region. In view of the extensive area of distribution of Neanderthal man in the old world, and the congenial climate of Sahara region in the upper Pleistocene times, it is conceivable that Neanderthal man may also have extended into the Sahara region.

MUZAFFER SÜLEYMAN SENEYREK.  
*Antropoloji Enstitüsü, Ankara.*

### How Came Civilization?

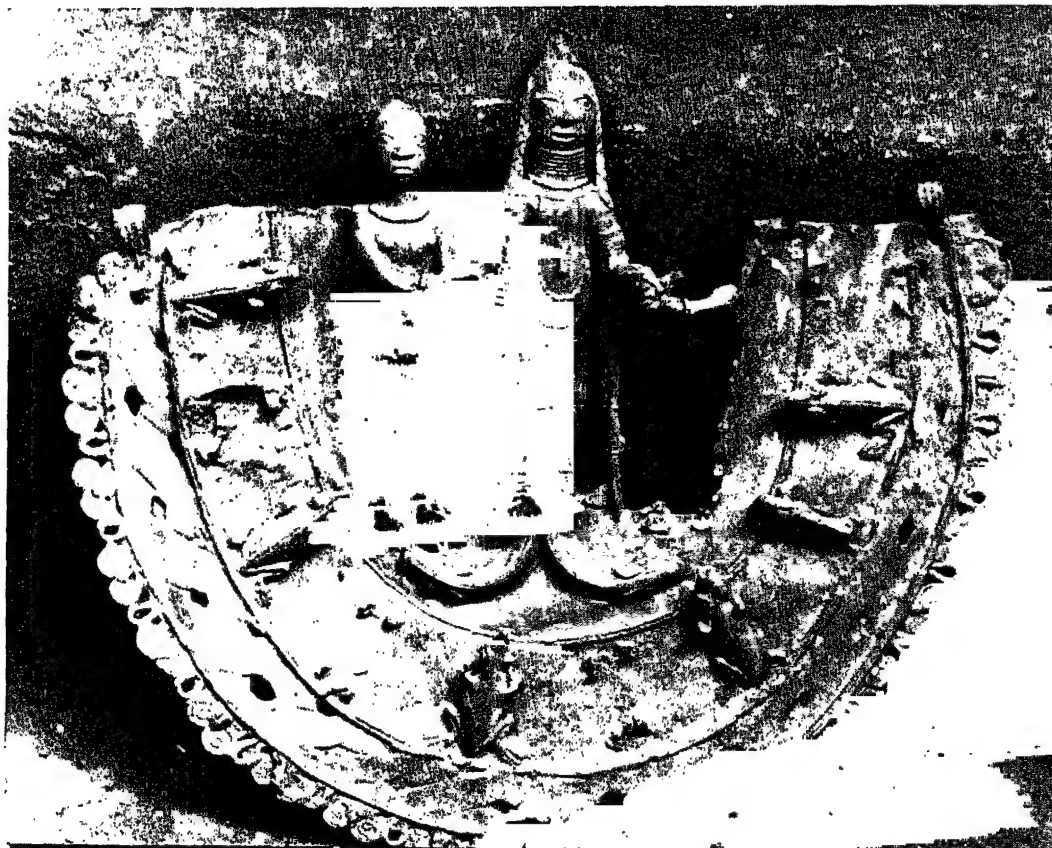
**154** SIR,—In his review, MAN, 1940, 133, of my 'How Came Civilization?', Dr. Harrison writes: "There is no evidence that recent or modern savages have invented bows, canoes, or even simpler artefacts . . . but the occurrence of so much diversity in form and structure of artefacts indicates that there have been small variations and mutations, which have in some cases led to improvements." The words I have italicized beg the whole question, since neither Dr. Harrison nor anyone else has produced direct evidence that such variations do lead to technological improvements.

RAGLAN.

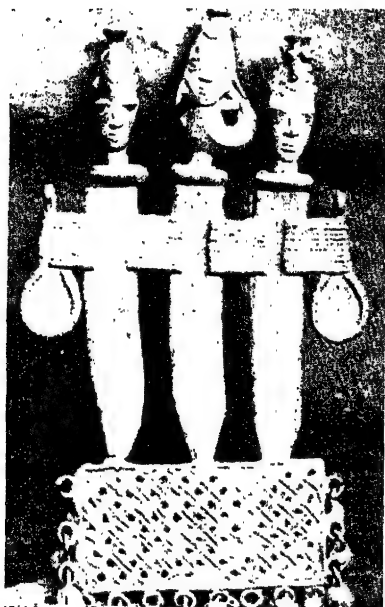
<sup>1</sup> Hrdlička, A., 'The Skeletal Remains of Early Man.' *Smithsonian Misc. Coll.*, Vol. 83. Washington, 1930.

<sup>2</sup> Seneýrek, M. S., 'Fossil Man in Tangier.' *Proc. Peabody Museum Amer. Arch. and Ethn.*, Harvard University, Vol. XVI, 3, (1940).





1. BADGE OF OFFICE OF THE OLOKUN PRIESTS



2. TRIPLE DAGGER



3. BADGE OF THE SHANGO PRIESTS

**PRE-PORTUGUESE BRONZE CASTINGS FROM BENIN**

*Photographs by H. V. Meyerowitz*

# MAN

## A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE  
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

XL, 155-178

SEPTEMBER, 1940

### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

With Plate I—J.

**FOUR PRE-PORTUGUESE BRONZE CASTINGS FROM BENIN.** *By Eva L. R. Meyerowitz, Achimota, Gold Coast, West Africa.*

**155** All the bronze castings described in this note are in the possession of the Oba of Benin and were photographed by us<sup>1</sup> during a visit to the Royal Palace. These, and some other bronze castings of later periods not described here, were all found in recent years during excavations for the rebuilding or adding of the Palace; except those made by the grandfather and father of the present Chief of the Brass casters clan of Benin-City, as ordered by the last two Obas from time to time. It is interesting to note that the present palace of Benin-City is built on land which during the twelfth and part of the thirteenth century was used as a cemetery.

From about A.D. 1150 until about A.D. 1280 all the bronze and brass work required at the court of Benin was made in Ife, but eventually Benin desired to be independent and Oba Oguola sent to Ife for a worker in metal to establish bronze and brass casting in his country.

Ighe-igha, who was selected to go to Benin, was not only a great artist, but also a great teacher, and is said to have left many designs to his students and successors. After his death he was deified and is worshipped to this day by the brass smiths at Idumwu Igun Eroumwo, the quarter of the



FIG 4. A HIP-ORNAMENT IN BRONZE: PRE-PORTUGUESE CASTING FROM BENIN.

<sup>1</sup> A brief survey of Nigerian Arts and Crafts has been conducted by H. V. and E. L. R. Meyerowitz and sponsored by Achimota College, Gold Coast.

Royal brass founders. On the altar of the shrine erected to his memory there are placed many terra-cotta heads which are said to be his work, but which unfortunately are very bad copies of copies of the originals which in the first place must have been destroyed in the course of the centuries.

At the time of the conquest of Benin, and shortly after, it was assumed that the Bini learned their bronze casting from the Portuguese. This is not surprising for it must have been difficult for scientists of those days to believe that 'primitive African tribes' could be originators of an art and technique of so high a standing.

But this assumption is neither justified by comparison with the contemporary Portuguese casting technique nor by the frequently reiterated fact that Portuguese warriors, hunters and merchants were found on Benin plaques.

*Badge of Office of the Olokun priests.* (Plate I-J, fig. 1).

These Badges of Office were in olden days housed in a shrine dedicated to the god Olokun in Benin, and taken out and carried by the priests on ceremonial occasions.

The Badge depicted in fig. 1 is a large bronze casting in semi-circular shape, showing Olokun, god of the waters, supported by two attendants; the left figure is broken off and missing.

This theme, either the Oba of Benin or the god Olokun (with whom the Obas identified themselves) supported by their attendants, is a very characteristic one in the art of Benin, and it is at times difficult to distinguish representations of the Oba from those of the god Olokun, particularly when the former wears the latter's coral-bead regalia. In those cases the Oba, in the guise of Olokun, can only be distinguished by his feet, which are human, whereas Olokun's lower limbs are, in bronze castings, usually shown to branch out into catfish.

Here we have yet another version, in which, what I believe to be Olokun, is portrayed with human feet, yet in this case standing on two catfish, which although of a different variety than those depicted in later periods, are clearly recognizable as such; these as well as the frogs are attributes of the god of the waters.

It may be argued that this is, nevertheless, a figure representing the divine king, Oba-Olokun, with all the attributes of the god, but here I draw

attention to the vertical incised markings on the face of the figure which are not the facial marks of the Obas of Benin, nor those of the Yoruba royal house of Ife (later Oyo) from which the Benin Obas descended.

These vertical incised markings which appear on so many of the famous Ife heads, I believe to belong to the original ruling caste of Ife which was subjugated by the invading Yoruba at the beginning of the twelfth century. Oba Ogiso, first king of Benin, was the eldest son of Oduduwa, the Yoruba war-lord who had conquered Ife. With regard to the bronze snail-shells found recently at Igbo (MAN, 1940, 1) the legend describes that, at the moment of Ogiso's departure, Oduduwa gave him a charm in the form of a snail-shell (which was later cast in bronze) containing some earth to invest him with absolute power and right over the lands that should come under his sway.

The Olokun worship was the national cult of these original Ife rulers and I therefore suggest that this figure is a representation of Olokun made in Benin at a time when the original Ife-Olokun worship was still fresh in the minds of the Bini craftsmen.

Attention may be drawn to the crook, an unusual emblem in a watergod's hands, where one would have expected a trident, which is quite a common ceremonial object in parts of the Sudan and West Africa,<sup>2</sup> as well as in the ancient Mediterranean civilizations with which the cultures of Ife and Benin show so many points of correspondence.

Whether the trident, as emblem of Olokun, has always been absent or not, is a question which demands fuller investigation. Meanwhile I draw attention to the so-called Oranyan's Staff at Ife, a monolith which quite obviously shows a trident, executed in iron nails. It is illustrated in Johnson, *History of the Yorubas*, p. 145.

The crook is an object which nowadays is unknown in Benin, and it may be that the trident has similarly been forgotten.

Rather uncommon is Olokun's headdress in fig. 1, with two plaits falling down on both sides of his face. The hip ornament worn by the god consists of an animal's head which I am not able to identify.

The border of the bronze casting is a repeat

<sup>2</sup> Lindblom, K. G.: 'Spears and staffs with two or more points,' *Africa*, Stockholm, 1937.



pattern in which the units are composed of two symmetrical spirals twisted outwards back to back. This double spiral motive is known to have been an amulet in ancient Mediterranean cultures and occurs as such also in many parts of Africa, e.g., MAN, 1938, 46.

According to Professor F. von Luschan, *Alterthümer von Benin*, Berlin, 1919, p. 284, all large bronze castings of this type have more the shape of heraldic shields, which he presumed to have been derived from European heraldry. If that is so, then the semi-circular shaped ones, of which there are none in either European or American collection, and which were unknown at the time of von Luschan's publications, must in all probability be pre-Portuguese.

On this account, and judging from its style on the whole, this bronze casting was made sometime between A.D. 1350 and 1450 in Benin.

#### *Badge of Office of the Shango Priests.*

Fig. 2 shows another large bronze casting of semi-circular shape with a ram's head, which probably dates from the same period as fig. 1, or perhaps even earlier, later representations being much more stylized.

To-day and as far back as we know, the ram is, and was, of no importance in Benin, but it might have been different in the early days when the Obas of Benin kept up a close connexion with the Yoruba country, where the ram is sacred to the thundergod Shango.

This cult, if it ever played a large part in Benin, must have lost much of its importance there when in the middle of the fourteenth century the worship of Olokun became the official religion, and probably was dealt its deathblow when Oba Ewuare the Great (from about A.D. 1440-1473) introduced the bull as sacred sacrificial beast. The exact words of the court historian to us were that "Oba Ewuare introduced bull 'worship' and that 'the bull is his mark of 'distinction.' Bulls were (and still are) sacrificed to Olokun, with whom the Obas identify themselves. In many Sudanese tribal religions the bull superseded the ram as sacred animal. References to this are in Sir Richmond Palmer's *The Bornu, Sahara, and Sudan*.

#### *A Triple Dagger.*

I feel that the most beautiful bronze casting in the Oba's collection is the Triple Dagger (fig. 3), only about one foot high and surmounted by three

heads, which I found lying amongst other things on a mud altar in the private courtyard of the Oba. It was broken in two places, and the people did not even think it worth while to show it to us.

Nobody at the court, including the brass casters, could give me any information or explanation of this bronze casting. The head of the Benin brass-casters, at present working at Achimota College, has also been consulted on this point. Finally I came to the conclusion that this Triple Dagger probably did not originate in Benin, and that the heads represent Olokun on the left, his wife Elusu, or simply Olokun-su, with a fish body, in the middle, and Olokun's second wife on the right. Elusu, a seagoddess in her own right, is mainly worshipped at the coast round Lagos and is said to be of human shape but covered from below the breasts with fish scales; fish are sacred to her.

We do not know how it was in olden days in Benin, but amongst the Bini to-day, it is mainly Olokun's second wife, Oha, who is worshipped. At one time Olokun was very poor and that in his despair he went to consult the oracle, and was advised to build a palace under the sea with 201 chambers in order to lure the rich Oha, who then became his wife. This was told to me by the Court Historian. He referred to Olokun as 'Commander of Riches.' I think it is due to her that the Olokun cult in Benin has deteriorated and that the god of the Waters is mainly worshipped as god of Wealth to-day.

The fine elongated heads with their straight noses and tiny mouths are uncommon in Benin art, and compared with them, even Olokun in fig. 1, in spite of the fineness of the work otherwise, has a broad face with flat nose and a large mouth.

Of interest are the two loops on the two outside sheaths which may be just a decoration and means to fasten the daggers to a belt or strap. On the other hand, the earthgoddess Ale of the neighbouring Ibos is represented carrying a fertility charm in the shape of a fan-like object; and so does the female figure of the bronzes on Jebba Island (MAN, 1931, 261, fig. 1). In Benin itself one of the wives of Olokun, on an altar in the house of Chief Eholor, carries a fan of the same shape.

As to the origin of this bronze casting, we have three conjectures: either (1) it originated in Ife;

or (2) it was made by the first masters of the Ife school in Benin; or (3) it came from Lagos, or other places of the coast, where possibly the cult of the seagoddess has always been strongest.

Though we do not know whether the Bini, when they took Lagos Island in about A.D. 1550 (J. U. Egharevba, *A Short History of Benin*, Church Missionary Society Bookshop, Lagos, 1937), brought thence any spoils of war, Bini history mentions the treasures taken from the town of Mahin, which was reconquered by Oba Orhogbua on his way back from Lagos to Benin.

#### *A Hip-Ornament in bronze.*

Fig. 4 shows a hip-ornament in bronze consisting of a head with elaborate headdress and some symbols and animals difficult to recognize; the whole is encrusted with earth in many places.

The head shows a high headdress with a strap under the chin like that on the middle figure of fig. 2. Nothing can be said about this piece at this stage; there is nothing known in the art of Benin or of Ife, with which to compare it.

#### EXTENT TO WHICH THE GROUPING OF THE DATA AFFECTS THE ACCURACY OF MEAN VALUES. *By M. L. Tildesley.*

**156** Anthropological literature contains many estimates of the mean value and variability of physical characters based on measurements divided into very broad categories, sometimes as few as three. I have even seen the usual method of calculating a mean and standard deviation (S.D.) applied to as few as two categories, and that by an anthropologist of repute. All with any knowledge of statistical theory or practice would of course know the S.D. of two categories to be so unreliable as to be worthless. But if the anthropologist should ask what then is the minimum number of groups into which he may divide his data, he would find that counsels diverge. Thus Karl Pearson used to teach us not less than about 15; Tippet<sup>1</sup> says (p. 38) "about 10 groups or more"; Pearl<sup>2</sup> states (p. 81): "A safe working rule in setting up tables of frequency is (a) to arrange the class limits so as to have from 8 to 15 classes" (depending on the size of the sample), and "(b) never to have fewer than 5 classes or more than 20 to 25," his maximum being chosen on the practical grounds of the labour involved in calculation as against the further degree of accuracy given by finer grouping.

The question, just how great is the loss of possible accuracy with a given breadth of grouping, in given conditions, is however one to which statistical theory has not yet provided definite answers. It seemed therefore that a useful contribution might be made, and one of practical importance to anthropologists, if some estimate

could be obtained experimentally of the effect of different breadths and methods of grouping on the reliability of means and standard deviations from 'normally'<sup>3</sup> distributed populations. Practically all series of data with which the physical anthropologist deals are drawn from normal or nearly normal distributions, a fact that is dealt with fully in a recent excellent paper by Morant.<sup>4</sup>

An experiment was accordingly carried out, of which only the results relating to mean values will be given here, leaving the effects on estimates of variability to be considered in a later paper.

The area of a normal frequency distribution with standard deviation ( $\sigma$ ) equal to 1 was divided into 29 columns,  $0.2\sigma$  broad, and two equal tails. The areas of these 31 sections were read off from Table II of Pearson's *Tables*,<sup>5</sup> and 1,000 cards were divided into 31 groups corresponding thereto in size, as nearly as possible. The cards in each group were marked with the distance from the mean (in terms of  $\sigma$ ) of the mid-ordinate of the corresponding section, except that two were marked + (or -)  $3.0$ , to represent the tails cut off at  $\pm 2.9\sigma$ , and to replace them by card-categories extending merely from

<sup>3</sup> The term 'normal' is used throughout in its statistical sense, i.e., to denote a distribution following

curve whose formula is  $y = \frac{1}{\sqrt{2\pi} \cdot \sigma} \cdot e^{-\frac{1}{2} \left(\frac{x}{\sigma}\right)^2}$ .

<sup>4</sup> G. M. MORANT, 'The Use of Statistical Methods in the Investigation of Problems of Classification in Anthropology: Part I. The General Nature of the Material and the form of Intraspecific Distributions of Metrical Characters,' *Biometrika* XXXI, 1939, pp. 72-98.

<sup>5</sup> KARL PEARSON, edited by, 'Tables for Statisticians and Biometricians.' Cambridge Univ. Press. Vol. I, 1914.

<sup>1</sup> L. H. C. TIPPETT, 'The Methods of Statistics,' Williams and Norgate, London, 1931.

<sup>2</sup> RAYMOND PEARL, 'Medical Biometry and Statistics,' Saunders, London and Philadelphia, 1927.

$\pm 2.9\sigma$  to  $\pm 3.1\sigma$ . The extent to which the mid-ordinates of the sections are fitted by the card-frequencies is shown in Fig. 1. The latter were distributed thus:—

Value .....						-3.0	-2.8
No. of cards...						1	2
-2.6	-2.4	-2.2	-2.0	-1.8	-1.6		
3	4	7	11	16	22		
-1.4	-1.2	-1.0	-0.8	-0.6	-0.4		
30	39	48	58	67	74		
-0.2	0	+0.2	etc., repeated in descending				
78	80	78					

order. Their standard deviation (0.99150) falls slightly short of that of the normal distribution (1.0) owing to the approximations made.

the mid-point of a category was retained for one method (the '0' method) of grouping the first 50 samples, the 'A' series: we grouped the original  $0.2\sigma$  categories successively in threes, fives, sevens, nines and elevens, making categories whose breadths were respectively  $0.6\sigma$ ,  $1.0\sigma$ ,  $1.4\sigma$ ,  $1.8\sigma$  and  $2.2\sigma$ . In grouping the remaining 100, the 'B' series, we began with the highest or lowest value in the sample (as often the one as the other), so that group limits had no fixed position with regard to the population mean ('end' grouping). They were grouped thus in fives and tens. When later it was found desirable to get S.D.s from '0' and 'end' grouping of the combined series, the above 'end' groupings were extended to 'A's' also; and since it was

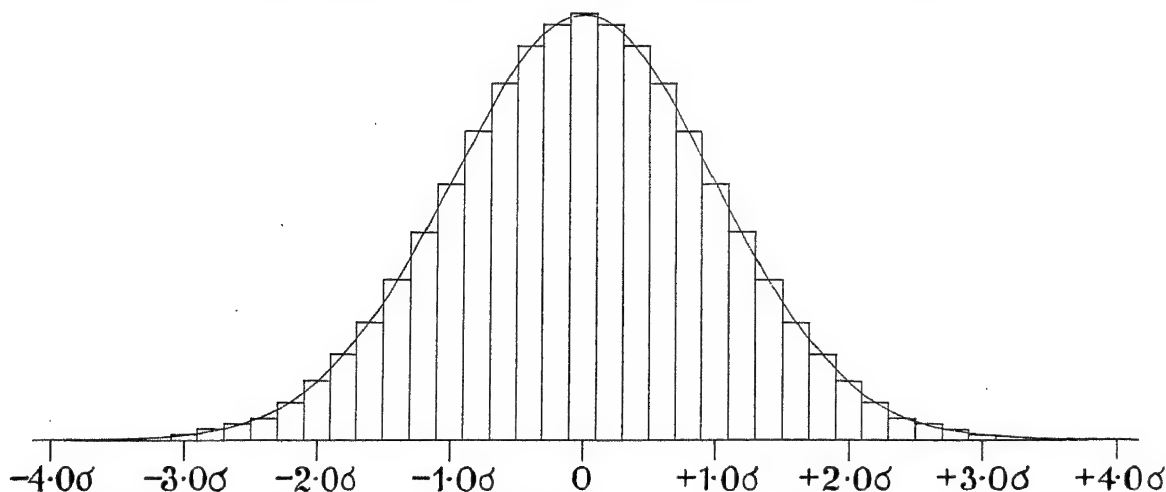


FIG. 1. DIAGRAM OF A NORMAL FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION, DIVIDED AS DESCRIBED IN THE TEXT.

The cards were then well shuffled and a sample of 100 cards was drawn at random; their numbers having been recorded they were returned to the pack. This was repeated until 150 samples of 100 had been recorded. The mean and standard deviation of each sample was then calculated in a number of different ways, each differing from the others either in the breadth of the categories into which the cards were grouped, or in the positions of the points of division relative to 0, the population mean. I have to thank Mr. and Mrs. H. A. Gloyd and Mrs. Violet Gooch for carrying out under my direction the greater part of the above work.

The card-population being divided symmetrically into 31 categories, 0 coincided with the mid-point of the central one. This position at

impossible to make 0 the mid-point of an even number of categories with our data, the '0' groupings in fives and nines were extended to the 'B's'. I am much indebted to Mr. V. Hedley Jones for undertaking these further 350 calculations of sample means and S.D.s; also for working out the variability of the means of the 150 samples as found from the original grouping and from the four broader groupings described above.

The standard deviation of the means derived from the original category-breadths is 0.10749, and before considering any changes found with the broader categories we must see whether our series of means may be considered truly random, or whether they suggest some unintended bias in the shuffling and drawing of the cards.

We know from statistical theory that if an

infinite number of samples of size 100 are drawn at random from a normal population, their means will be normally distributed about the population mean, the S.D. of this distribution of means being  $0.1\sigma$ . For samples from our nearly normal card-population this value becomes 0.09915. Where only 150 means are available, as here, the S.D. of their distribution is not likely to give the exact theoretical value; and about one time in seven it would differ from 0.09915 by as much as ours, or more. The latter thus offers no evidence of bias in sampling.

The S.D.s of the means that are based on broader groupings are given in Table I. Theoretical estimates being as yet lacking, we cannot test the accuracy with which the S.D.s from our series of 150 reflect the variability of an infinite number of such. But we can at any rate ask whether they do demonstrate an increase in variability with the given increases in category breadth, or whether it could be merely chance that the last four values are higher than that for the means from our finest grouping. The last column of the Table answers this by giving for each S.D. the chance of obtaining it by random sampling alone, without any influence from broad grouping. For the broadest the chance is so slight as to be practically nil. For the '0' groupings with categories  $1.0\sigma$  and  $1.8\sigma$  broad it is small, and only with the 'end' grouping in  $1.0\sigma$  categories is there any reasonable chance of the increase in value not being significant.

We may then ask whether there is any significant difference, or only random differences, between the effects of '0' and 'end' grouping. Could the lower value of the 'end' S.D. for categories of  $1.0\sigma$  have been matched as easily among values from the corresponding '0' grouping as it could be among S.D.s based on fine categories?

If we estimate the chance of getting, from the same population, two series of 150 means whose variability differs as much as ours for '0' and 'end' grouping in categories  $1.0\sigma$  broad, we find that differences as great or greater could occur through random sampling about one time in 15. But these would be differences in the

FIG. 2. DISTRIBUTION OF MEANS WITH:—

- $h = 0.2\sigma$ .
- $h = 1.0\sigma$ , '0' grouping.
- $h = 1.0\sigma$ , 'end' grouping.
- $h = 1.8\sigma$ , '0' grouping.
- $h = 2.0\sigma$ , 'end' grouping.

—0.099    0    +0.099

TABLE I  
VARIABILITY OF MEANS OF 150 SAMPLES OF 100 from CARD-POPULATION ( $\sigma = 0.99150$ )

Grouping		S.D. of means	Deviation from 0.099150 (theoret. S.D.)	Deviation in terms of 0.005724 (s.e. of same)	Chance of obtaining by random sampling
Breadth	System				
0.2 $\sigma$		0.107489	+0.008339	1.457 s.e.	1 in 7
1.0 $\sigma$	'0'	0.115826	+0.016668	2.912 s.e.	1 in 279
	'end'	0.110689	+0.011539	2.016 s.e.	1 in 26
1.8 $\sigma$	'0'	0.117149	+0.017999	3.144 s.e.	1 in 602
2.0 $\sigma$	'end'	0.126283	+0.027133	4.740 s.e.	1 in 500,000

variability of means from different samples : where the samples are the same and category-position alone has been varied, mere random differences from this cause would be much smaller, and it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that a result such as ours is not random, but is significant of the different effects of '0' and 'end' grouping.

We infer then not only that the variability of sample means increases with an increase of category-breadth, but that it increases less where the category limits are fixed in relation to one end of the sample's range than where they are determined by a point fixed in relation to the distribution from which it is drawn. Presumably it increases still less if both ends of the sample's range are used to determine the limits of categories.

To make clearer what the above S.D.s signify concerning the reliability of the mean of the single grouped sample, as compared with its theoretical reliability where the sample is ungrouped or finely grouped, we will take our last four S.D.s

as the best estimates we have of the variability of an infinite number of means obtained from their respective groupings, and compare the numbers that may be expected to deviate from the true value, 0, by more than three given amounts. These are the standard error of the ungrouped mean (0.099150 for the card samples). 1.98 times the s.e. (0.194334), and 2.56 times (0.255807).

Table II makes this comparison and shows, for example, that while finely grouped samples (of 100) give means 32 per cent. of which miss the population mean by a tenth of the standard deviation or more, samples grouped in as few as three categories have 43 per cent. of their means out to this extent. Though accuracy has been reduced it has not been reduced to any tremendous extent, and less than we shall find to be the case with the sample's S.D. But this affects the mean also, for even if the latter were calculated quite correctly for the sample, the correctness of our inferences from it depends on the

TABLE II

Grouping		Mean no. of categ. (n = 100)	No. of means deviating from 0 by more than :—		
Breadth	System		s.e.	1.98 times s.e.	2.56 times s.e.
V. fine			31.73%	5%	1%
1.0 $\sigma$	'0'	5.0	37.40%	9.33%	2.72%
	'end'	5.5	37.03%	7.90%	2.08%
1.8 $\sigma$	'0'	3.6	39.76%	9.71%	2.90%
2.0 $\sigma$	'end'	3.0	43.25%	12.38%	4.28%

reliability of the S.D. Differences between the means of sample series can only be assessed in the light of the probable accuracy with which they reflect the means of the populations from which they are drawn, and this depends on two things

besides lack of bias in selecting the samples : their length, and the variability of the populations to which they belong. As a rule, the only estimates we have of the latter are the standard deviations of the samples.

**COMBINED POTTERY AND BASKETRY SPECIMENS FROM UPPER ASSAM.** *By R. R. Mookerji, M.Sc., Anthropological Laboratory, Indian Museum, Calcutta. Published with the permission of the Director, Zoological Survey of India, and read at the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 5 June, 1939. Illustrated.*

**157** In 1893 the Assistant Political Officer of Sadiya and the Deputy Commissioner of Lakhimpore presented to the Indian Museum, Calcutta, a number of ethnographical objects of the Singphos, a tribe living in the mountainous

The base is woven with the body just like the cane-seat of a wooden-framed chair in a rhomboidal open checker work pattern (Fig. 2, a) with a single long thin cane slip. This cane slip is passed through 19 small holes made round the body of the pot which was perforated when the clay was soft, at an approximate height of 1 cm. above the bottom. The distances between the holes are, however, not uniform and vary between 2.5 to 3 cm. About 4 cm. below the upper margin of the pot there is a raised band nearly 1 cm. in breadth and ornamented with finger-tip depressions. The pot is fire-burnt, shows the characteristic marks of wheel, and both surfaces are uniformly smooth. It is of blackish grey colour, which does not wash out when rubbed with water. It appears therefore that the colouring matter was mixed with the slip of creamy fluid clay with which the pot was coated before being burnt to smooth the surfaces and to close the pores. The clay used for making the pot

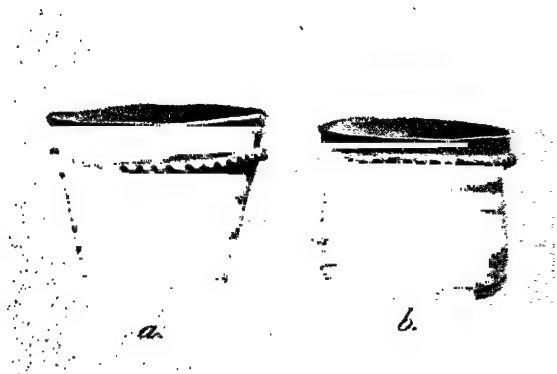


FIG. 1. CLAY POTS WITH CANE-WORK BASE FROM UPPER ASSAM: a. SINGPHO TRIBE; b. KHAMTI TRIBE.

regions in Upper Assam, near Sadiya, between latitudes  $26^{\circ}$ - $27^{\circ}$  N. and longitudes  $96^{\circ}$ - $97^{\circ}$  E., and bounded by the Patkai Hills on the east and the Kumon Range on the west. Besides other objects, the collection contains a few earthen pots, one of which (Fig. 1, a) is of considerable interest. The characteristic feature of this pot is its base, which is made of cane-work. The occurrence of basketry-work as a part of an earthen pot is extremely rare and I have not come across mention of any such combination among any other tribe. The specimen may be described as follows :—

In shape it is like a small water-bucket with gradual widening towards the mouth. The circumferences of the mouth and of the bottom are 75 cm. and 52 cm. respectively, while their diameters are 22 cm. and 15 cm. It is 19 cm. high and has a thickness of half-a-centimetre.

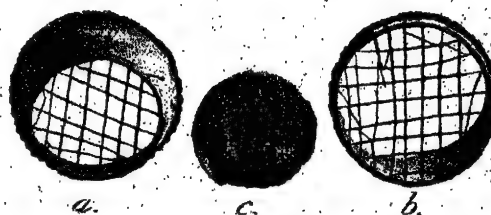


FIG. 2. STRUCTURE OF THE CANE-WORK BASES.

does not contain any additional foreign matter such as husks, sawdust, etc., to temper it.

We have, unfortunately, no definite information as to the purpose for which the pot is used



by the Singphos. Judging from the structure of the base, however, it appears that the vessel is used as a strainer. This view is further supported by the use of cucurbitaceous fibre (*Luffa aegyptiaca*; Bengali, *dhundul*, Fig. 2, c) found at the base inside the vessel. The idea of using the fibre would appear to be that the meshes formed by the cane-work are too large (from 1.7 to 4.8 sq. cm.) for ordinary straining purposes. The employment of fibre unquestionably restricts the use of the pot for separating the suspended solid matter from a liquid substance, the latter being drained through the pores of the fibre. It is surmised that the pot is used for straining boiled rice from the surplus water contained in it, as traces of rice-gruel were found still adhering to the fibre when closely examined.

On examining the other objects in our collections, another somewhat similar, though not identical, specimen (Fig. 1, b) was found among the Khamtis, a tribe living on the north-east of the Singphos. This was also collected from Sadiya on a previous date and was described as a part of a set of earthen cooking pots (*soroo*) of the tribe. It differs essentially from the Singpho specimen in shape and in the structure of the base. It is cylindrical and not widened at the mouth. The base is woven with the body in rectangular, instead of rhomboidal, open checker-work pattern (Fig. 2, b). The diameters of the mouth and of the bottom are equal, being 19 cm., while its circumference measures 65 cm. As for the total height, the thickness and the distance between the base and lower margin, it is similar to the Singpho specimen. The raised band which is similarly ornamented with finger-tip depressions is about 2 cm. below the upper margin, but is very rough and irregular in workmanship. Both the outer and inner surfaces of the body are also comparatively rough and not uniform. Originally the pot is of dull red colour, but the outer surface of the body is coated with a dark sooty colour that does not stand washing well, and was probably applied after the pot has

been fired. In this specimen no fibre is noticed, but it is not improbable that the pot originally had one, but being very loosely fitted it had dropped out.

Judging from the workmanship and the general get-up, the Khamti specimen undoubtedly is more primitive in character and may be regarded as an earlier form of the other.

From what we know of the tribes it appears that both the Singphos and the Khamtis emigrated into Assam from Burma from where they subsequently pushed on to the Sadiya frontiers towards the close of the eighteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The Singphos are racially allied to the Kachins of Burma,<sup>2</sup> who once 'extended east to the confines of Yunnan and west to the valley of Kyendwin.'<sup>3</sup> The Khamtis, on the other hand, are a branch of the Shan or Tai race that occupied a large territory known historically as the Kingdom of Pong at one time.

This kingdom of the Shans 'was broken up by the Burmese king Alompra about the middle of the eighteenth century and on its dismemberment other branches of the Shan race migrated and settled in Assam.' It is said that this kingdom of the Shans 'touched Tipperah, Yunnan and Siam.'<sup>4</sup>

It is possible that among other branches of the Shan tribe living in Burma, Indo-China and Siam a similar type of pottery will be found, if carefully searched; but at present we have no record of any such. The distribution of this interesting object cannot therefore be worked out on our present information.

I am thankful to Dr. Baini Prashad, Director of the Zoological Survey of India, for his kind encouragement and also to Dr. B. S. Guha, the Anthropologist of the Survey, for kindly going through my manuscript.

<sup>1</sup> Waddell, L. A.: Tribes of the Brahmaputra Valley, *Jr. As. Soc. Bengal*, LXIX, Pt. III, pp. 39, 47, 1901.

<sup>2</sup> Green, Capt. J. H.: A Note on the Indigenous Races of Burma, *Census of India*, 1931, XI, Pt. I, p. 247.

<sup>3</sup> Dalton, E. T.: *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, 1872, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Dalton, E. T.: *L.c.*, p. 5.

## REVIEWS. ARCHÆOLOGY.

**The Prehistoric Settlement and Cemetery of Zengövárkony.** By Janos Dombay, *Archæologia Hungarica* XXIII. 88 pp. and 39 plates (7 coloured). Buda Pest, Magyar Történeti Múzeum, 1939. 45 Swiss Francs.

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The latest volume of the splendid series of *Archæologia Hungarica* is notable for two commendable innovations. The full translation, which as always accompanies the Magyar text, is in excellent English instead of German. Secondly, for the first time in this

series the requirements of modern scientific publication are fulfilled: every grave and all its contents are fully catalogued and described and, where necessary, illustrated. Banner has regularly done this in the *Dolgozatok* of Szegeed University. As there are no less than 78 graves, mostly well furnished, the data thus presented are very instructive. The pottery and other grave-goods can be accurately matched in the famous cemetery of Lengyel (Tolna County), at Polgar and other sites on the Upper Tisza, and in the settlements of the earlier Moravian 'painted pottery' explored by Palliardi in Czechoslovakia. The latter is thus a typical site of the 'Danubian' culture, labelled, not very

happily, 'Polgar' in my *Danube in Prehistory*. It should be emphasized that the graves do not form a continuous cemetery but are dispersed in three main groups, each subdivided. Among the relics the number of hollow-bored axe-hammers of Danubian type is notable. The painting or encrustation is less varied than in North Hungary and Moravia, only red being used. We hope that the English translation will be welcomed by wider sales in Britain and America and that promised further publications of the site will include line drawings, giving sections to supplement the excellent photographs.

V. GORDON CHILDE.

### TECHNOLOGY.

**British Coracles.** By James Hornell (*The Mariner's Mirror*, Vol. XXII, 1936), 5-41 pp., 5 figures and 4 plates; 261-304 pp., 9 figures and 5 plates.)  
**The Currachs of Ireland** (*The Mariner's Mirror*, Vol. XXIII, 1937), 74-83 pp.; 148-175 pp., 4 figures and 5 plates; Vol. XXIV, 1938, 5-39 pp., 5 figures and 7 plates). London: Quaritch. Price 7s. 6d.

It is discreditable to British ethnology that the coracles of Britain and the currachs of Ireland should hitherto have remained undescribed, but now we are fortunate in having this omission so efficiently rectified by James Hornell, than whom no one is more competent to undertake this task. He gives us a detailed description, together with numerous most excellent illustrations, of all the local types and their equipment, and also local terms for details.

Mr. Hornell begins with the Roman evidence for the employment of skin-covered vessels by the Britons. These apparently were of the sea-going curragh types, but the small coracles used by the natives on rivers, in localities buried for the most part in the depths of dense forests, were unknown to the Romans. The first recorded description of coracles is that by Giraldus Cambrensis in A.D. 1188, but the earliest allusion to fishing from a coracle is found in the Gododdin poem of the fifth or sixth century.

The coracle is more or less oval in form and is made of interlaced ash laths covered with tarred calico. The local types vary in details, and near Llangollen there is one with an aluminium framework. The only localities in Britain where the use of coracles survived until about the end of last century are Wales and the English counties traversed by the Severn, the Usk and the Wye. Coracle fishermen in south-west Wales have an age-old code of unwritten rules governing their operations, and these are seldom infringed. Coracle races have long been a popular form of public amusement. Coracle fishermen seldom address one another by surname or Christian name. Nicknames are universal. They generally avoid using the word 'salmon' in conversation—a similar taboo on certain words is characteristic of many fishing communities in the British Islands.

*Coruc* and *choruc* appear to be the oldest forms of the term for the craft. *Cwruwg*, *corwg* *cwruwgl*, *coruwl* are literary forms in Modern Welsh, but boatmen use *cwruwg* or *corwg* according to the dialect spoken. *Coruc* is clearly to be equated to *curach*, the Erse term. The English word coracle comes from *cwruwgl*. "The sea-going *coruc* [pl. *corygeu*] (*currach*) must have been of very great importance in the general life of Britain as well during the period of the Roman occupation as in that later one when the monks of the Caldee Church were sailing the seas in hide-covered craft. . . . River coracles would be relatively of little importance until the time when the Celtic people of South Britain were, for the most part, cooped up in

"the mountain fastnesses of Wales by the advance of Saxon power by land and by Viking piracy at sea. Under these conditions Brythonic hide-covered ships (*corygeu*) disappeared from the narrow seas. . . . In the Latin *corium*, a hide, we have a word cognate with the Celtic *coruc*, a hide-covered vessel, but there is no direct relationship; both come from a common source much older than either language."

Notices of the use of coracles in Scotland are of the scantiest.

The Irish currachs were originally formed of an open framework covered with hide which to-day is replaced by tarred calico, except in the case of the Boyne curragh. The usual Irish term is *curach*, in Kerry and Clare it is replaced by *naomhóg*. Hornell has made a study of the various types in use from Donegal to Kerry and this is the first time such a survey has been made, and the first time that a connected account has been published, of the many variations which occur from county to county, . . . from port to port in the same district.

"The story of the skin-covered wicker boat is as old as the so-called 'gods' of Irish mythology. A favourite theme of the early bards and story-tellers was the marvellous voyages in vessels of this type by men in search of an earthly paradise." Several of these are alluded to by Hornell.

The lightness and shallow draft of the curragh and, although wooden vessels were at that time used in overseas trade, it was the favourite craft of the hordes of plundering Irish who descended on the shores of Britain from time to time during the Roman rule and increasingly thereafter until checked by rival bands of Saxon plunderers. Irish raids were particularly active during the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries; they were always made in curraghs. "The appearance of the Norsemen and Danes on the eastern seaboard of Ireland in the eighth and ninth centuries and their seizure of all sea Trade, entailed . . . in the design of Irish overseas trade . . . forward the planked ship of wood . . . the high seas and the curragh . . . wild western and north-western coasts for fishing and local coastal trade, and for traffic on some inland waters."

"In British coracles the framework is put together mouth up, the bottom being the part first laid down. In Irish curraghs this procedure is reversed; the gunwale is formed first, the bottom and sides being put in position later." This is the invariable practice in Ireland; even the oval coracle-shaped curragh used on the River Boyne is built in this inverted position. Apart from the Boyne curragh, all others at the present time are made up of a stout wooden gunwale frame, single or double, of a series of transverse U-shaped rib-frames, and of a much more closely set series of

fore-and-aft stringers on the outer side of the rib-frames, to which they are secured either by tying with thongs, withies or twine (old style) or by clenched nails (new style). Over all is stretched tarred calico.

"Nearly all the variations in shape and the treatment of constructional features in Irish currachs may be aligned into a nearly complete series corresponding closely to the principal stages in development through which it is probable that the highest types have passed. . . . Most primitive in construction is the small paddling curragh of the Boyne, oval in plan, with an open framework of doubled hazel wands and an undeveloped gunwale—the whole cased in the hide of a single ox." Next comes the little elongated paddling curragh of the Rosses and the Donegal Islands, which has a wooden gunwale, laths as ribs and stringers, and a covering of tarred cloth. The currachs of Sheephaven, Donegal, are longer, and oars pivoted on a thole-pin are always used; but double withies continue to be used for ribs, exactly as in the Boyne type. In Blacksod Bay, Mayo, the currachs are like those of Sheephaven, but the ribs are of laths. Southward a new feature, the double gunwale frame, is introduced which is continued to the Dingle peninsula. "The supreme achievement of the curragh builder is seen in the craft that fish out of the many creeks and bays of the Dingle peninsula and the Blasket Islands."

Hornell considers that "the Boyne curragh is not a survival of a primitive first stage but represents a degradation of type, resulting from the modification of a sea-going type, such as that seen in the Rosses, to one suitable to the simpler needs of a salmon-fishing craft used on a gentler river." If this be so the series would "start . . . with a plank-built boat forms of the two types distinctive of (a) the Dingle, and (b) Achill and Blacksod." Thus in its boat-like forms, curragh design presents us with "an instance of convergent evolution, where an old type, such as is represented in the Rosses' curragh, has tended gradually to approach a plank-boat type." Attention may also be drawn to a useful illustrated paper by Hornell 'The Coracles of the Tigris and Euphrates' in *The Mariner's Mirror*, XXIV, 1938, pp. 153-159. A. C. HADDON.

**The Background of Art.** By D. Talbot Rice, Prof. of Fine Art in the University of Edinburgh. (= *Discussion Books*, No. 64.) London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., 1939. 172 pp., 6 text figures, 16 plates. Price 2s. net.

This stimulating book deserves special attention in an archaeological journal because of the author's profound knowledge of the close relations between art-history, and anthropological, ethnological, and anthropo-geographical studies (p. 14). There is not only a special chapter (III) on 'Fine Art and Primitive Art,' but also other chapters, like 'Art and Race' (VI), and 'Art and Geography' (VII), which are largely anthropological.

"Art," writes Prof. Rice on p. 22, "is clearly illuminated by a knowledge of its age, and it can, conversely, throw a new light on the age itself." And in fact there exists an inner concatenation between art and its cultural background as a whole; so much so that each culture and every single epoch of a certain civilization with its specific formal structure and colouring is indissolubly tied up with an altogether special style of aesthetic expression. An example may be seen from what we may call a psychoanalysis of the pre-Raphaelite group (pp. 19 ff). In the field of anthropology it has been proved long ago that the study of a single

phenomenon for itself alone can never lead to a complete understanding of its significance, let alone its value for comparative studies. Likewise the study of primitive art cannot be separated from a more comprehensive study of anthropology in the widest sense of the word. This fundamental principle is rightly recognized and practically applied not only on pp. 49 ff, but throughout chapters VI and VII. In the former the problem of diffusion or independent origin is considered at some length. Prof. Rice concludes—and I quite agree with him so far—that that problem should not be taken as an alternative, so that "our choice must be determined according to the evidence offered and to the degree of probability in each case" (p. 91). I am wondering, however, whether many anthropologists will approve of the author's suggestion that those primitive cultures, the earlier stages of which show greater accomplishment and elaboration than the later, "represent a period of domination by some outside superior people, who were responsible for the introduction of a new element or series of elements" (p. 88).

The author then passes on to an examination of "how far certain elements of culture and certain arts are to be associated with actual physical types of people," that is to say, how far they are to be considered as racial. Prof. Rice admits that the study of 'racial psychology' is only in its beginnings: the work of E. von Eickstedt and W. Hellpach might have been mentioned. But he suggests, on p. 93, that "in civilized society certain types of art can, without question, be associated with certain races, when the word is used in the wider, looser sense," namely, to denote those groups, the nature of which is determined by the lives that their members lead, the languages they speak, and so on, rather than by the purely anthropological type of the people who compose them" (p. 92). In a later passage (p. 97, on 'racial aesthetics') the supposed association between certain types of art and certain groups of peoples is put, in a more general way, without the above limitation to civilized society. The three explanations offered to account for similarities in the arts of different regions (pp. 98 ff) seem to me to be methodologically related to certain criteria applied in the 'Kulturkreis' theory: comp. P. W. Schmidt, *Handbuch der Methode der Kulturhistorischen Ethnologie*. But the author differs from that theory, or goes even further, in that he proceeds to show "that a cultural migration is at times to be associated with a racial one" (p. 107). His test case is Scythian art. He eventually rejects the theory of Rostovtzev and accepts that of Borovka, adding new arguments to show that the Scythian style is largely derived from the Palaeolithic arts of Russia, Scandinavia, and Siberia (pp. 101 ff).

This book offers many other topics of interest and is written in a brilliant style. The plates are excellent, but the line-blocks are, without exception, insufficient and should be replaced by better drawings in a new edition. L. ADAM.

**The Story of the Lamp (and the Candle).** By F. W. Robins. London: Oxford University Press, 1939. xiv + 155 pp. 50 illustrations with nearly 500 specimens. Price 15s.

Whilst torches, and the like, have been used all over the world, the candle and the oil-lamp are limited in distribution mainly to the barbaric and civilized peoples of the Old World. For this reason, no doubt, ethnologists have paid relatively little attention to the last-named lighting appliances, though archaeologists have had reason and opportunity to make a closer study of them. Museums also have often made collections of candlesticks, lamps, and lanterns, which present

a great variety of adaptational features. Mr. Robins is a collector of these appliances, and the describing and photographing of a large number of his specimens for the purposes of this book has clearly been a labour of love. The need for such a book has long been felt, since hitherto the only comprehensive source of information has been a memoir of the U.S. National Museum, not always easily accessible in this country, and less attractive in its mode of presentation than the book under review. The author has made a careful study of the literature of his subject, which he treats in an interesting and lucid fashion. He gives a short bibliography, and the criticism may be offered that this would have been more useful if in all cases the publisher, the date, and the place of publication had been given. It may also be said that if all the plates had shown the provenance of each object it would have facilitated reference.

The book deals first with torches, rush-lights, candles and candlesticks, and then passes to lamps of stone, shell, earthenware, and metal, passing from those of classical and medieval times to the types which led up through the eighteenth century to the more modern forms of the nineteenth. Lanterns, miners' lamps, and even lighthouses are being treated, and there are also sections on gas lights and the 'coming of electricity.'

The author accepts diffusion where the evidence allows, though he shows a readiness to fall back upon independent invention—a usual habit of mind. Less usual, perhaps, is that which leads him to say, of fire and light, "they still hold the brute creation in awe," which certainly seems to suggest that the ancients "were not far wrong in regarding fire as a direct gift from the divine powers to man and a symbol of 'supernature.'" It is, however, the ingenuity, rather than the wisdom, of the ancients (and others) that enlivens the book, which is a valuable addition to our works of reference.

H. S. H.

**Plains Indian Painting. A Description of an Aboriginal American Art.** By John Canfield Ewers. Stanford University Press, 1939. 84 pp., 44 plates. Price 21s.

**162** It is astonishing that so little attention has been paid to the paintings of the Plains Indians. And yet the paintings of those tribes should appeal more strongly to the European viewer than, for instance, the strange and complicated decorative designs of the North-west American Indians (pl. 40). There are two altogether different forms in Plains Hide Painting, namely, geometric patterns (pp. 8 ff) and, what the author calls 'representative forms' (pp. 15 ff), human figures and animals, usually in profile. The Plains artist's preference for portraying war-deeds accounts for the predominance of the horse and of man (p. 17). In view of the importance of the buffalo in Plains culture, its rare occurrence in the paintings is surprising. The representative hide paintings reveal an extraordinary skill in realistic drawing. An attempt at perspective was made by figures overlapping one another, but the colours were not shaded to bring out the effect of colour perspective. Since the painted hides were used as robes, there is no doubt that the total absence of colour-modelling indicates that the native artists were completely satisfied with a purely decorative and, therefore, flat treatment of the figure (see p. 21). The origin of a painted hide, that is to say, the authorship of a member of a particular tribe, can to some extent be concluded from the various styles in which human figures (with tribal emblems) and horses used to be represented (see pl. 15 and 16, and text, pp. 19 ff). Valuable information concerning the technical details, such as colours, brushes, etc., are given on pp. 3 ff.

The earliest datable examples of Plains Indian representative painting were made at the beginning of the nineteenth century. They are characterized by crudely painted, schematic figures, suggesting forms of men and animals in a merely sketchy manner (p. 60). But early white visitors to the North American Plains already recorded that Indians used to be clad in painted hides; see pl. 34 reproducing the earliest known illustration of an American Indian clad in a painted hide, a drawing by the French artist Le Moyne, who visited Florida in 1564.

Except for some specimens reproduced after Maximilian, Prince of Wied, the present book is entirely based on the material of the museums in the U.S.A. Wonderful specimens, however, can be seen in other ethnographical museums. So the Museum für Völkerkunde at Berlin has a very remarkable collection, and two beautiful pieces (one probably of Crow Indian origin) are in the British Museum, though at present not on exhibition. One of the latter specimens has, among others, a buffalo head in front view, which is quite exceptional.

L. A.

**Made in England.** By Dorothy Hadden. London: Methuen, 1939. xiv + 255 pp. Price 15s. net.

**163** The author describes her book as the "débri of ten years' research work cut down into this one "small volume," but possibly there is hope for a second. It is a record of a painstaking and undoubtedly arduous inquiry into the details of many 'age-old country jobs' that are alive to-day in England. Wales, Scotland, and Ireland also come into the picture. It is illustrated very fully, even lavishly, by the author's own drawings and photographs. The line-drawings, which predominate, are admirably designed to give details of form and construction, both of tools and products, and it is perhaps ungenerous to complain of the absence of provenance on so many of the illustrations themselves. A very inadequate idea of the scope of the book may be obtained from the chapter headings: Wood, Straw, Reed, Grass, and Willow; Stone; Metal; Bricks and Pottery; Leather and Horn; Wool and Feathers. This may be extended by mentioning a very few of the activities and products that are described and figured:—a beechwood camp, hop and fruit-poles, trugs, clogs, thatching, heather besoms, wattle and daub, quarry work and tools, the shoeing-smith, the tinker, carding and spinning wool, wool rugs and quilts.

The author may be said to have increased in value as many of the arts and crafts she describes with so much enthusiasm and clarity acquire the inevitable 'by-gone' status.

H. S. H.

**African Negro Art.** By James Johnson Sweeney. New York (Museum of Modern Art), 1935. 58 pp, with many plates and three maps. Price \$2.50.

**164** This is the beautifully illustrated catalogue of an exhibition of African sculpture which took place in New York in 1935. The exhibition had been lent by American, Belgian, Swiss and German museums, and by various private collectors. Selection had been made from the aesthetic point of view. The plates show a large number of the over 600 pieces and are arranged in approximately geographical order covering the following areas: Senegal, Guinea, Upper Volta, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ivory Coast, Gold Coast, Dahomey, Nigeria, Cameroon, Gabon, French Congo, Belgian Congo, Angola, and Tanganyika. Mr. Sweeney, who acted as Director of the Exhibition,

not only composed the catalogue proper (which has, unfortunately, predominantly vague and indefinite descriptions such as 'mask' or 'figure') but also wrote an introduction (11 pp.) entitled 'The Art of Negro Africa.' He suggests that "in the end it is not the 'tribal characteristics of Negro art nor its strangeness' that are interesting, but its plastic qualities." There can be no arguing about this view expressed in a purely aesthetic publication. However, Mr. Sweeney goes so far as to say that "historical and ethnographic considerations have a tendency to blind us to the true 'worth of Negro art.'" May we remind art students that the original and especially of the religious works of primitive art necessarily leads to misunderstandings, because a religious significance may be attached to an object—and in the majority of cases has—? After all, books on primitive art cannot be filled with aesthetic judgments of value alone; for, as Professor D. Talbot Rice has put it: "the 'feeling is something which we can and must only 'experience for ourselves' and 'it is only the realization that can be alluded to in writing.'" In the present case this has been done by Mr. Sweeney himself, since he does, in his introduction, deal with historical and ethnographic facts, though very briefly. The excellent plates provide a valuable illustrative material, and Map No. 2 shows the locations of all the tribes which are responsible for the various types of Negro art.

L. A.

**Tools and The Man.** By W. B. Wright. London: G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., 1939. 8vo. 16 + 236 pp. 165 *Plates and illustrations.* Price 12s. 6d.

The title of this work is really a misnomer, as the book deals with the Palaeolithic industries of Europe, and

elsewhere. While the stone and other implements used in early cultures may be indisputably included in a history of tools, it is rather the later use and development of tools which concerns mankind.

Actually this is a general work on Prehistory in which especial emphasis is laid on the Palaeolithic, and the geological problems so closely associated with that culture. It is very well and fully illustrated, and the author appears to be conversant with the relative literature; though there are some startling omissions in the bibliography, particularly foreign works.

L. W. G. M.

**Chinese Dress and Personal Ornaments in the Han and Six Dynasties.** By Yoshito Harada. Tokyo, 1937. (Tokyo Bunko Ronsō, Ser. A, xxiii.) 166 32 pp., 52 plates.

Sources for this vast subject are mainly three:—sumptuary ordinances of the Han Dynasty, especially in the second year of Yung-p'ing (A.D. 59) in the reign of the Emperor Ming-Ti; authentic relics from Chosen, Manchoukuo, Outer Mongolia, and Central Asia; and stone reliefs showing the manners and customs of these periods. Here we have the author's conclusions in the original, a fine series of collotype plates, and a brief English abstract, with the subjects of the plates and text illustrations described in detail. Besides the 'Ritual dresses' and the 'Court dresses,' there are chapters on 'Dress Accessories' and on the use of silk and the principal categories of design—sun, moon, and stars, mountains, dragons, and pheasants; floral scrolls, fire, powder, grain, zigzags and meanders; there are also Chinese characters, for good omen; and some patterns, excavated from Noin-ula, seem to be of Iranian and Scythian origin.

J. L. M.

## AMERICA.

**Arqueología de la Región Atacameña.** By Ricardo E. Latcham. Prensas de la Universidad de Chile. 1938. 374 pp. 167

This book by the Director of the Museo Nacional de Chile gives a very full account of all the remains of the people who are now called Atacameños by archaeologists. The author shows how most of these remains of a fairly high culture were formerly attributed to the Incas, and later to the Diaguita culture, when the existence of that was proved by further research to have emanated from a culture of their own, independent of the Diaguita, but like it, prior to the conquest of the region by the Incas. Uhle's classification and provisional chronology are in the main accepted, but without absolutely relying on the suggested dates.

Unfortunately little is known of the language of the Atacameños, though it survived till the middle of the nineteenth century; as all that has been preserved is contained in some rather meagre vocabularies, and it has not been possible to affiliate it with any other language.

The Atacameños had made considerable progress in the arts of life, notably in the use of llamas as beasts of burden, and the manufacture of clothing from their wool. The author makes an important point when he says that it was this use of llamas which enabled them to cross the deserts and carry on an extensive trade. It can be inferred, from the occurrence of numerous place-names in their language, that their former distribution covered a wide area. The remains of several stone buildings, apparently dwellinghouses, are described.

One of the most interesting portions of the book is the chapter dealing with metal-work, especially the discussion of the question of the knowledge of bronze. There is the usual difficulty of deciding whether the tin found by

analysis of implements is merely an impurity or is due to a deliberate intention to make bronze. The author concludes that at first only copper was used in South America, but that later, owing to the discovery of tin in Bolivia, the natives began to use it to be used to make a harder metal, and so developed a real bronze-industry, and that after this discovery the tin was traded from Bolivia to the south for the purpose of making bronze in regions where tin did not occur. Another interesting point is that the addition of tin was somewhat haphazard, as the implements requiring the hardest metal sometimes had a lesser proportion of it than those for which hardness was less necessary.

The book is altogether an excellent piece of work, and is fully illustrated. The only complaint to make is that it has only a table of contents of chapters instead of an index.

RICHARD C. E. LONG.

**Modified Basket Maker Sites, Achmen-Lowry Area, S.-W. Colorado.** By Paul S. Martin. With a report by John Rinaldo. Chicago (Field Museum, Anthr. Series, xxiii, 3) 1939. 305-500 pp., many 168 *plans and illustrations.* Price \$3.00.

Two large ruins, of earlier and later date are described here, after complete excavation, which revealed very full details of house plans and domestic arrangements such as fire-pits and storage cists. From the tree-rings of charred roof-beams Mr. Harry T. Getty (p. 493 ff.) reckons the date of the later site as about A.D. 855-872, and of the earlier as about A.D. 747-768 with one (re-used?) log of about A.D. 612. Modification of the 'Third Basket Maker' culture had set in about A.D. 700, and transition to the 'First Pueblo' culture was complete by about 860; so these two sites nearly span this interval, and illustrate the intrusion of new fabrics of



pottery, by trade or by movement of neighbours from the south into south-western Colorado, and the breakdown of large villages into small ones. From 'Pueblo I' developed 'Pueblo II' about A.D. 950, and the 'Pueblo III,' or 'Great Pueblo' phase about A.D. 1050-1275, with pot-making at its climax of skill and beauty, as at Lowry Pueblo excavated already by the Field Museum. Comparison with modern Pueblo villages explains the respective uses of subterranean and surface rooms, the former a ritual survival from a 'Pueblo I' phase. Other comparisons between 'Pueblo I' and 'Pueblo III' lead to conclusions as to relative stability and prosperity, as well as to relative age, of a kind which is not often attainable in Old World archaeology. J. L. M.

**An Eye-witness of Mexico.** By R. H. K. Marett. Oxford Univ. Press. 1939. xi + 260 pp. Price in England, 8s. 6d. net.

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The author lived seven years in Mexico, was engaged in various occupations there, and married a Mexican wife. The result is a book which is neither an ethnographical work nor a volume of travel, but is an interesting picture of present-day Mexico in its political, social, and financial aspects, by one who has first-hand knowledge of his subject. His work led him to most parts of the republic, and he is evidently a shrewd and

sympathetic observer. Great changes are now taking place in the Mexican social order, and the author describes them mainly by relating experiences of his own. The style is interesting and often witty, and the book is well illustrated.

One is struck by the fairness with which the good and bad points of the present policy are presented, and there is wise avoidance of prophecy. The outstanding conclusion is that a new nation is gradually evolving which is neither White nor Indian in race, but tends more and more to be Mestizo. As Mr. Marett says, "The Mestizo is coming into his own." A point on which he is very definite is that the pure white Spanish race and the Indian are both tending towards absorption in the Mestizo, and therefore towards extinction as separate castes, and he also holds that there will be that of neither one nor the other of these races.

The most important tendency is the melting of 'Mexico for the Mexicans,' which is gradually squeezing out all foreigners.

The use of the word 'Lake' for Lake Patzcuaro is mentioned. Its use is well known for a long time, but no reference is made by the author to what is even more remarkable, namely, that it still survives near Mexico City. See Hermann Beyer "La Tiradera" (*El Mexico Antiguo*, II, 9, 1926). RICHARD C. E. LONG.

## FOLKLORE.

**Old English Customs and Ceremonies.** By F. J. Drake-Cornell. London: Batsford, 1938. viii + 120 pp., 107 plates (one in colour). Price 7s. 6d.

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The author in his preface gives his purpose as being to explain to foreign visitors and to the younger generation the origin and reason of England's old ceremonies, and town and rural festivals. The result is a beautiful and interesting book. The greater part explains customs relating to the Royal Family, the Houses of Parliament, the City of London, the Army, the Church and the Law. Five chapters are devoted to folklore and the description of rural and smaller town festivals, and should do much to rouse interest in those ignorant of the more scientific work that has been published in recent years. It is not in the scope of the volume to give an exhaustive catalogue of the many festivals still celebrated, but a large number are mentioned, or described in some detail, and illustrated with excellent photographs.

More serious students of Calendar Customs will perhaps think that some of Mr. Drake-Cornell's statements should be modified. Few scholars now think that the Baal Fire at Whalton is "actually a continuation" of the worship of Baal, condemned in such strong "language in the Old Testament," or even that it has any direct connection with it; the account he gives of the eleventh century origin of the Biddenham Cakes is first mentioned in the eighteenth century; that Morris dancing was introduced into England from Spain by John of Gaunt is certainly not generally accepted. But these and other similar small blemishes can be corrected in a second edition. A short bibliography would be useful to those for whom the book is intended, if they wish to pursue more seriously an interesting study.

H. COOTE LAKE.

**British Calendar Customs. England. Vol. ii.: Fixed Festivals. January—May inclusive.** By A. R. Wright. Edited by T. E. Lones. London: Folklore Society, 1938. 272 pp., 10 plates. Price 15s.

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A book on general folklore is always a mine of information from which one can extract any quantity of knowledge of men and things. But it is often difficult to find one's way through the maze of fixed and movable

calendar customs. The Editor must therefore be congratulated on keeping the two classes separate and so arranging this volume as to make them easily accessible. The fixed festivals are the more important as being usually older than the religious, and thus showing more of the beliefs of the people. Only the first five months of the year are given in this volume, but even with that short record some interesting results can be obtained by the comparative method. Thus there are five main dates for love divinations; the first new moon after the New Year, St. Agnes' Eve (Jan. 20), St. Valentine's Eve (Feb. 13), St. Mark's Eve (April 24), and May Day. Of these St. Mark's Eve is peculiar as it applies more to men than women. The geographical distribution is interesting, as the dates for the divination seem to belong almost entirely to the north and east of England. It is possible that they have not been recorded in the south, west, and midlands; or it may be that only in the northern and eastern counties are the dates of importance. Weather forecasts naturally play a large part in the folklore of the first two months of the year. Thus the first twelve days of January are supposed to show the weather of the twelve months of the coming year. If St. Vincent's Day (Jan. 22) or St. Paul's Day (Jan. 25) are bright, a good year will follow; on the contrary, if Candlemas Day (Feb. 2) or St. Valentine's Day (Feb. 14) is bright, continuous bad weather may be expected. These prognostications are general, but naturally there are local forecasts, which apply only to individual counties. It would be interesting to have a complete collection of these. It is only when the facts are all assembled that the real importance of folklore can be understood; the dating and geographical distribution of customs and beliefs will show the effects of tribal immigration and changes in religious and social life. M. A. MURRAY.

**Manuel de folklore français contemporain. Vols. 3 and 4.** By Arnold van Gennep. Paris: (Picard). 1937-8. 1,978 pp. Price 150 frs.

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Although vols. 3 and 4 have been published separately in 1937 and 1938 respectively with continuous pagination, and one index, vols. 1 and 2 are still in preparation. Vols. 3 and 4 contain 44 pp. of



specimens of questionnaires, 34 pp. of listed French provinces and districts, 924 pp. of bibliography, and 33 pp. of index of authors' names. The bibliography, the importance of which can be judged by its size, is divided into almost every imaginable section of French folklore, each section being subdivided into geographical "provinces," being extremely easy for the reader to refer to. The bibliography

of his particular subject. All the bibliographical items are keyed to prevent wastage of space by repetition of details. The references to the different provinces in the different sections are reassembled under the separate provinces in a convenient index. This is an extremely valuable work of reference for the indication of sources.

CANNING SUFFERN.

### GENERAL.

**The Growth of Literature.** By H. Munro Chadwick and N. Kershaw Chadwick. Cambridge (University Press) 1940. Vol. III. xxvi + 928 pp. Cloth. Price 30s. net.

173

With this huge tome the enterprise of writing a history of the world's literature, so far as it can be discovered and examined with our present knowledge, up to the beginning at least of the written literatures of the modern civilized nations, is brought to a conclusion. It has, of necessity, some of the defects of the preceding volume (see MAN, 1938, 12), but also more than a fair share of its merits, for the region covered is wide and the matter highly interesting and in some cases little known. It begins by examining the unwritten literature of the Tatars (pp. 25-226), in which connexion much that is interesting is said about shamanism, and a perhaps rather hazardous theory put forward that imaginative works dealing with visits to the other world are to be derived from the practices of these or similar claimants to revelation; see p. 105 and elsewhere. Next comes a long section (pp. 229-473) on Polynesian literature, followed by a note (pp. 476-96) on that of the Iban, or Sea Dyaks. Here, amongst many things worthy of notice, come several interesting comparisons between Polynesian and Japanese literature. Africa follows, and the examples are taken from the Abyssinians, the Galla, the northern Bantu, the Yoruba and the Tuareg. In all these sections, there is much that it is good to have collected together, and this alone would suffice to outweigh the disadvantages arising out of lack of material for sundry peoples, the impossibility at times of securing recent work on some areas, notably the 'Tatars,' and authors' lack of first-hand acquaintance with these fields. They seem to be competent in practically all European languages, ancient and modern; it would therefore hardly be reasonable to expect them to know the unwritten and often very difficult speeches of the other continents and of Oceania! A note on English ballad poetry (the word is used in a wide sense, and includes much that is Scottish) interposes between these long chapters of *Sammelarbeit* and the great concluding section, p. 697 to the end, entitled 'General Survey,' in which an attempt is made to group the mass of facts and reduce them to order, especially to such an order as shall throw light on their genesis. Elsewhere (in a notice in *Nature*, 1940, p. 761) the present reviewer has expressed his doubts as to whether such an attempt has succeeded or can succeed; a sketch of the method of classifying the phenomena studied was given briefly in MAN, 1938, 12. There are also details of interpretation with which he would quarrel, if this were a literary or classical journal; here it is sufficient to question the applicability of a terminology largely belonging to the sciences (e.g., the use of 'elegiac' in the sense it commonly has in modern treatises on certain kinds of poetical expression) to a scientific and objective study of the phenomena of sundry literary types and an attempted explanation of their origin, growth and relations to one another. But all this is not to say that the work, the outcome of many years of hard and scrupulously honest study, does not possess great value

both as a storehouse of facts and for its suggestions, often ingenious and plausible, towards the solution of the many partial problems which arise. H. J. ROSE.

**Extracts from Lewis Henry Morgan's 'European Travel Journal.'** Edited by Lewis A. White, Rochester Historical Society. New York, 1937. 168 pp.

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The editor of these excerpts in his preface says, "it goes without saying that Morgan's qualities as a social scientist are warrant enough for the presentation of his views on any phase of human culture." One of the chief interests of the journal lies in the fact that, though stamped by the mark of a great mind, it is, nevertheless, deeply imbued with the current 'typical' nineteenth century and American outlook. In general the comments are those of a mind trained to observe carefully and to evaluate dispassionately; but on certain topics on which Morgan felt deeply, the man in him overwhelmed the scientist in him, and his comments become angry and bitter.

The Roman Catholic Church on the continent of Europe is one of the things which makes him lose his sense of proportion. He sees the church in Italy as nothing but a hateful parasite monopolizing wealth, power, and ritual, for its own ends degrading and impoverishing the people. Yet his studies of the value of ritual in a primitive community like the Iroquois should have shown him that, much in need of reform as the church might be, in a simple peasant community like Italy it had a genuine function, however repugnant to an 'enlightened' American democrat.

Another example of Morgan's unquestioning and optimistic faith in the sole value of American civilization is found on page 334, written in Berlin in 1871: "There is no remedy for European society through popular institutions. Prussia is the nearest in promise but the victory will never be won, they will wear out and die under kings and princes, counts, barons, and a standing army . . . I am more and more glad that an ocean separates us from European society and ways; and rejoice more and more at the escape of our forefathers, and at their success in establishing in one corner of the earth a series of institutions and a class of ideas which do justice to man." The strength of the class 'caste' system in England impressed Morgan; he describes with ridicule a visit to the House of Lords about 1870, and in particular the "assinine features" of a bishop in his frock and gaiters. "This is exactly England, ruled, ruined, as well as degraded, by caste distinctions." He realizes, however, that the working classes accepted this system on the whole, particularly the pageantry, as at the Opera, "where, without the presence of the aristocracy in exclusive seats, the common people would not know how to enjoy the occasion." In another place he says, "Because the (English) people are personally free they think they are morally and socially free." One might retort that the Americans seem to have sacrificed to social freedom a large measure of personal and perhaps moral freedom also. That is in the light of developments in

the two countries in the last fifty years. In reality, of course, a subtler analysis of freedom than either of these is required; perhaps it is as well, however, that Morgan should not see that weakening of the aristocracies in central Europe, and of the hated Catholic Church in Italy, has not brought all progress and freedom, but some new kinds of enslavement. To the post-war generation, Morgan's robust faith in the coming emancipation of the people of the world is oddly depressing.

ROSEMARY FIRTH.

**Primitive Intelligence and Environment.** By S. D. Porteus, D.Sc. New York: Macmillan, 1937. viii + 325 pp. Price 15s.

**175** This book is an addendum to Professor Porteus's study of the Australian aborigines, *The Psychology of a Primitive People*. It is a record, on a somewhat smaller scale, of a similar investigation in South Africa, mainly among the Bushmen of the Kalahari, and includes comparisons of the results of the Australian expedition with those obtained on this one.

Professor Porteus deserves congratulations for the enterprise and tenacity with which he has pursued his plan of trying to obtain comparative data from different primitive peoples. The investigation reported here has cost him an arduous journey through Bechuanaland and the Kalahari. A large part of the book consists of a very readable, somewhat popular and vivid account of these travels, which gives a good sketch of the environment in which the subjects of Professor Porteus's tests live.

Professor Porteus's main investigation consisted in the application of various psychometric tests to small groups of Bushmen belonging to several Bechuanaland and Kalahari hordes. In addition he tested small groups of Bantu from a number of tribes, at a Johannesburg mine-compound. The principal test employed is, as usual, the Maze test devised by the writer. Professor Porteus cites also data obtained among various Negrito and other peoples of the Malay Peninsula, and other parts of the Far East. Measurements of certain psychophysical capacities and of brain size are also adduced.

The investigation appears to have yielded nothing conclusive. It is difficult to see how that could have been expected. Are 25 Thonga mineworkers representative of 'the Bathonga'? Or 25 Bushmen of 'the Bushmen'? The Arunta come out highest in the Maze tests, the Bushmen lowest. Is this due, as is sometimes implied by the writer in language which is far from precise, to the severer demands of their desert environment on the powers of adaptation (whatever that may signify) of the former? It is not clear just what prognostic or diagnostic significance Professor Porteus attaches to his Maze test. At various places he speaks of "intelligence, foresight, . . . it is said to be a far from satisfactory measure . . . and that 'the complex of qualities . . . performance' seem to be valuable for making adjustments to our 'kind of society.'" The Arunta thus have more of this complex of qualities than the Bathonga or Xosa and

should presumably, if Dr. Porteus's results mean anything, make a better adjustment to our civilization than the Bantu.

Professor Porteus's book proves again that more fundamental research, greater precision and consistency in the definition of concepts, and more rigorous statistical and experimental control are necessary, before ambitious comparative inquiries of this kind are undertaken.

M. FORTES.

**Karl Pearson: An Appreciation of some Aspects of his Life and Work.** By E. S. Pearson. Cambridge University Press, 1938. viii + 170 pp., 9 plates. Price 10s. 6d.

**176** Karl Pearson died in 1936, and it would not be possible yet for anyone to write either an adequate biography, or a just critique of his influence on the development of scientific theory and achievement. Two articles which appeared in *Biometrika* in 1936 and 1937 are reprinted in this volume. Professor Pearson says that it is in no sense a life of his father, but rather a collection of facts which could best be made while records were easy to trace. It contains a great deal of information which will obviously be indispensable to any biographer, and of considerable value to the historians of several branches of science.

Throughout the long span of his working life, one of the most sustained of Karl Pearson's many interests was physical anthropology. The statistical methods which he invented were not mathematical exercises, but tools intended to aid the solution of specific problems, and many of these problems related to anthropological material. An appendix of the book . . . syllabuses of lectures delivered at Gresham College. One in a series entitled 'The Geometry of Chance' shows that the new statistical technique had been applied to a wide range of anthropometric problems by 1894. Twenty years later physical anthropologists in general were beginning to appreciate that the calculus of probability had been effectively extended to deal with their group data, and to-day it is used to some extent in by far the greater number of researches on the subject.

G. M. M.

**History and Science.** By Hugh Miller. University of California Press (U.S.A.): Cambridge University Press (G.B.), 1939. x + 201 pp. Price 12s.

**177** This is a book for philosophers rather than scientists, though there is much in it for those interested in methodological problems. Its subject is the relation of historical to theoretical knowledge. The author holds that an attempt to formulate structural laws without studying the history of the phenomena investigated is false method. His thesis is a development of Bergson's philosophy. It is anti-rationalistic. The author devotes part of his work to the theory and history of society. He is evidently not well acquainted with sociological theory in which he gives dialectical materialism too prominent a place. His chapter on religion also shows ignorance of sociological theory.

E. E. EVANS PRITCHARD.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

**Snake Vessels from Dahomey: Correction.** (Cf. MAN, 1940, 59, 82.)

**178** The title of these two notes (as the substance of them shows) should have been 'Snake Vessels 'from Dahomey' not from the Gold Coast. The snake vessel in Figs. 1-2, now in the Museum of Achimota

College, Gold Coast, comes from Dahomey. In MAN, 1940, 82, the snake *Liwi* is not "shipped at Whydah," but is "the god of the Sea, and one of the principal gods of Whydah." Dahomey, as stated in MAN, 1940, 59. The Editor expresses his regret for these mistakes.

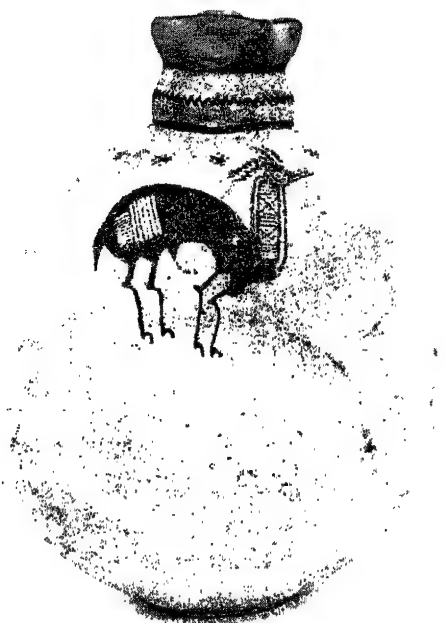




1. SIDE VIEW OF JUG



2. FRONT VIEW OF JUG



3



4

THREE JUGS OF THE CYPRIOTE IRON  
AGE IN THE BIBLICAL MUSEUM,  
MELBOURNE

(five centimetre measure : about  $\frac{1}{4}$  scale)

# MAN

## A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

XL, 179-190

OCTOBER, 1940

### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

With Plate K.

**THREE JUGS OF THE CYPRIOTE IRON AGE IN THE BIBLICAL MUSEUM, MELBOURNE.** *By James A. Stewart.*

**179** Three jugs from Cyprus in the Collection of the Biblical Museum, Melbourne, Australia, are of sufficient interest to deserve a brief note. The provenance is unknown, but is believed to be one of the Iron Age cemeteries between Ayios Jakovos and Enkomi, in the eastern portion of the Messaoria. They are published by the courtesy of Mr. W. J. Beasley.

#### *Description.—*

1. Jug with ovoid body, ring base, trefoil mouth, and strap-handle of flattened oval section, springing from the rim. Buff clay and surface-slip, painted in black with solid red fillings for the principal details of the design—a bird flying to right, before which is a conventionalized lotus. Black lines round the foot and neck and down the handle, ending in a whip-like curve on the body of the vase. On either side of the spout is an 'eye' consisting of concentric circles.

PLATE K., 1, 2.

*Height to top of handle 27.3 cm.; maximum diameter 20.8 cm.*

2. Jug of same type as No. 1, but the greatest diameter is lower on the body; the neck is longer, and swollen to distinguish it from the body and the trefoil mouth. Very well-tempered clay, fired yellowish buff, with yellowish-buff surface-slip. Painted wholly in black is a horned quadruped in profile to right; its body and legs are in solid black, with a reserved panel on the hind-quarter filled with groups of narrow lines; all four legs are represented as hind-legs, with bird-like claws rather than hoofs. The head and neck are in double outline; the head is filled with concentric-circles, the neck with basketry panels. Above is a row of small dotted crosses. On the neck is a zigzag line between plain bands, and on the lip the same concentric-circle 'eyes' as on No. 1.

PLATE K., 3.

*Height 28.8 cm.; maximum diameter 22.4 cm.*

3. Jug of similar type, but the body is lower and the neck much longer. Buff-clay and slip, with decoration in black paint, with solid red fillings as in No. 1. On either side of a complex lotus design a flying bird feeds from the lateral bloom: in the field above the bird's head is a swastika: plain bands on the neck and handle: the trefoil-lip is broken.

PLATE K., 4.

*Height 17.1 cm.; maximum diameter 13.5 cm.*

Unfortunately comparative study of these vases is impossible at present. Despite the recent attempt of M. Rutten, *Mélanges Dussaud*, I, pp. 435-49, to raise the date of this type of Cypriote pottery, its period is probably Cypro-Archaic I, in the viii-vii centuries B.C.

**SOURCES AND EXTENT OF ERRORS IN ESTIMATING STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF NORMALLY DISTRIBUTED POPULATIONS.** By M. L. Tildesley. Illustrated by diagrams.

**180** Physical anthropologists who express the variability of their measured data by means of standard deviations are now a majority. Others would use the S.D. if only they understood it; and many of its users too lack a full grasp of its meaning or of the factors which affect its accuracy. The present paper attempts to make these things clear while measuring experimentally the errors contributed by certain factors, some of them not yet measured by statistical theory. It deals only with series from 'normally' distributed populations, as practically all the data dealt with by the physical anthropologist are derived from 'normal' or nearly normal distributions. The fact that these are uni-modal exposes the fallacy of basing conclusions regarding population mixture on the random irregularities of sample series, and makes the degree of variability in the population the best measure of its relative homogeneity. It is therefore important to estimate this variability as accurately as the sample permits.

Before examining the factors whose influence on the calculation of the sample S.D. can be assessed, we should note a too common source of error whose effects cannot be estimated: this, as all know who have often checked S.D.s published with their data, is faulty arithmetic. We turn now to the experiment.

*Experiment.*—The experiment was described in detail in a previous paper dealing with the extent to which grouping in broad categories affects the accuracy of the mean (MAN, 1940, 156). Briefly, 1,000 cards were divided into groups corresponding as nearly as possible to the 31 sections into which a 'normal' distribution had been divided by ordinates at points  $0.2\sigma$  apart extending to a distance  $\pm 2.9\sigma$  from the mean (0). The standard deviation ( $\sigma$ ) of this normal distribution had been made equal to unity; that of the card-population was rather less (0.99150) owing to the approximations made.

Fifty samples of 100 cards, the 'A' series, were drawn at random. The original categories,  $0.2\sigma$  broad, were grouped in threes, fives, sevens, nines and elevens, 0 remaining throughout at a category mid-point. This will be referred to as the '0' system of grouping. The categories were also grouped in threes, sevens and nines with

$-0.4\sigma$  at a category mid-point ('-0.4' grouping), to see whether asymmetric grouping about the population mean had any effect on the average variability obtained for the sample. A further 100 samples were drawn, the 'B' series, and their  $0.2\sigma$  categories were grouped in fives and tens, beginning alternately with the highest and lowest values of the samples ('end' grouping). The means and S.D.s of the samples thus variously grouped were calculated; also, for each grouping, the mean value of the S.D.s and their variability.

The thorough shuffling of a pack of 1,000 cards is not as easy as shuffling 52, and we must see whether the S.D.s of the samples drawn from it can be considered truly random. Theoretically, if samples of size  $n$  are repeatedly drawn from a normal population whose standard deviation is  $\sigma$ , the classical way—used in this experiment—of estimating  $\sigma$  from the samples gives S.D.s whose average is slightly less,<sup>1</sup> namely  $\sigma\sqrt{\frac{n-1}{n}}$  which in

our case is  $0.99150\sqrt{\frac{99}{100}} = 0.98653$ . Their distribution would be very asymmetrical if  $n$  were small, but with samples of 30 it is nearly normal, and still more nearly with samples of 100 like our own. The standard deviation of this distribution of S.D.s (which is also the 'standard

'error' of the single S.D.) is  $\frac{\sigma}{\sqrt{2n}}$ . The standard error of the mean of  $N$  of them is  $\pm \left( \frac{\sigma}{\sqrt{2n}} \cdot \frac{1}{\sqrt{N}} \right)$ .

The frequency with which random sampling errors will reach or go beyond any given multiple of the s.e. are given in Pearson's *Tables for Statisticians and Biometricians*, Vol. I (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1914) Table II, but landmarks to remember are that 5 per cent exceed 1.96 times their s.e., and 1 per cent exceed 2.58 times.

We now compare our mean values with the theoretical mean. The mean S.D. of our 50 'A' samples is  $1.00102 \pm 0.00915$ ; of the 100 'B' samples,  $0.99461 \pm 0.00701$ ; of the 150 combined,  $0.99713 \pm 0.00528$ . None of these differs significantly from 0.98653.

<sup>1</sup> For this reason, the more modern practice in working out the S.D. of a sample is to divide the sum of the squared deviations by  $n-1$  instead of  $n$ .



Being satisfied with their mean values we now examine the variability of our S.D.s. Their theoretical standard deviation is  $\pm \left( \frac{\sigma}{\sqrt{2n}} \right) = 0.07011$ , and its s.e. is  $\pm \left( \frac{\sigma}{\sqrt{2n}} \cdot \frac{1}{\sqrt{2N}} \right)$ . The stan-

dard deviations of our own S.D.s are respectively  $0.08889 \pm 0.00701$ ,  $0.07219 \pm 0.00496$ , and  $0.07824 \pm 0.00405$ . The first of these differs from 0.07011 to an extent that would only be reached once in 135 times by chance alone, and with this degree of infrequency one asks whether there may not have been some other factor at work. I cannot detect it in the procedure by which shuffling and sampling were carefully carried out, and therefore, with a conviction less possible

in interpreting anthropological data, I take the higher variability of the 'A' S.D.s to be merely one of the less frequent results of random sampling. Pooled with the 100 'B' S.D.s they give us a variability that would be reached in 4.5 per cent of random sampling results.

*Effect of category breadth and position on the S.D. of the individual sample.*—The original grouping of our cards, in categories whose breadth ( $h$ ) equals  $0.2\sigma$ , may be taken as giving the most accurate value of the sample S.D.; and if for each of the 50 'A' samples we express in terms of this S.D. those obtained from broader '0' groupings, we get a distribution of departures from correctness whose spread increases with  $h$  as shown in Fig. 1. Their variabilities are as follows:—

Breadth of category ... ..	$0.6\sigma$	$1.0\sigma$	$1.4\sigma$	$1.8\sigma$	$2.2\sigma$
Variability of S.D.s in terms of S.D. <sub>(h=0.2)</sub> ...	0.0213	0.0333	0.0450	0.0552	0.0828

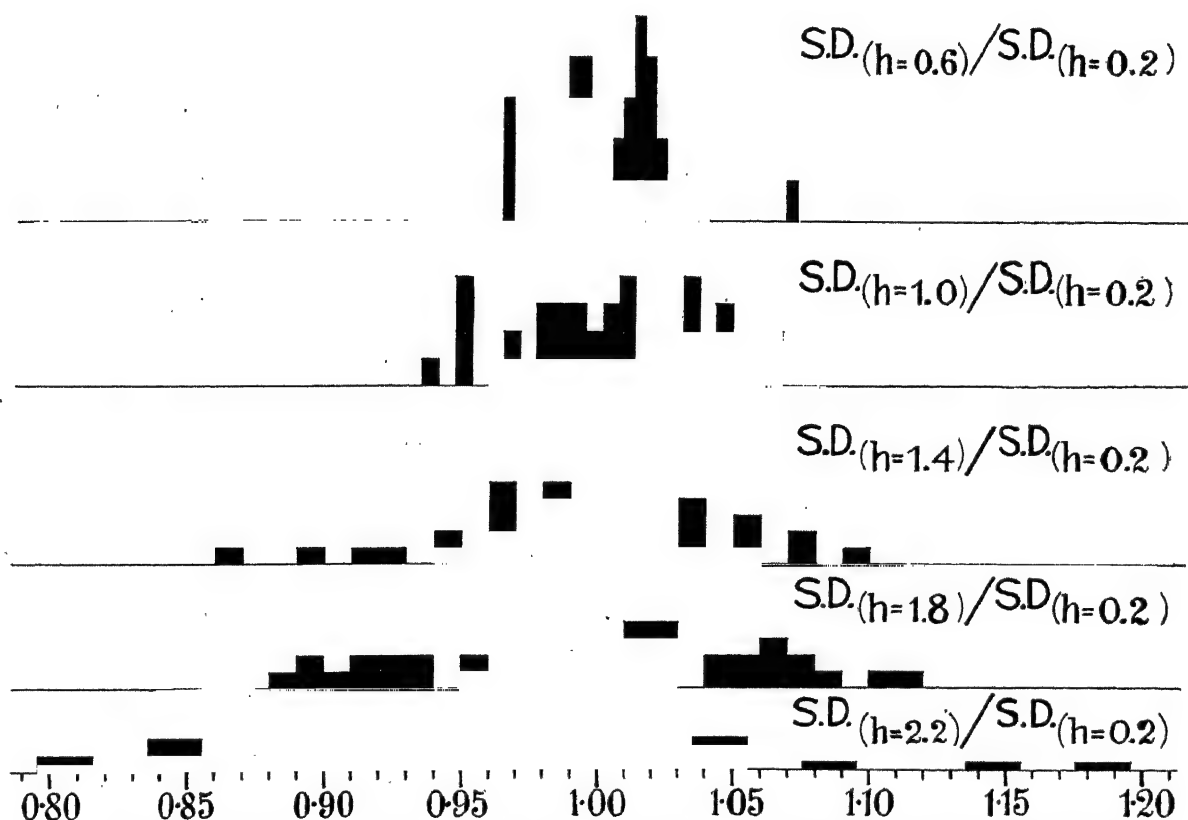


FIG. 1. DISTRIBUTIONS OF S.D.s OBTAINED FROM BROADER GROUPING OF SAMPLES (50), EXPRESSED RESPECTIVELY IN TERMS OF CORRESPONDING S.D.s OBTAINED FROM FINE GROUPING.

If we now take each sample S.D. obtained by the '0' grouping in threes, sevens and nines, and subtract from it the corresponding value obtained by '-0.4' grouping, we get the distributions of differences shown in Fig. 2. The S.D.s of these differences are  $0.0321\sigma$ ,  $0.0669\sigma$  and  $0.1006\sigma$ , for categories respectively  $0.6\sigma$ ,  $1.4\sigma$  and  $1.8\sigma$  broad.

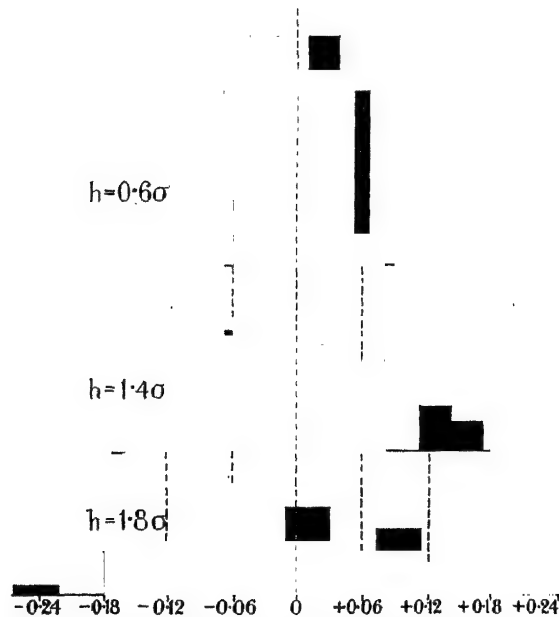


FIG. 2. DISTRIBUTIONS OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PAIRS OF S.D.s FROM THE SAME SAMPLES (50) GROUPED RESPECTIVELY BY THE '0' AND '-0.4' METHODS.

The significance of these various S.D.s may be illustrated by a single example. Where  $h=1.4\sigma$  the S.D.s obtained for about 32 per cent of the samples have an error of over  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, rising to about  $13\frac{1}{2}$  per cent; also in 32 per cent of the samples the S.D.s derived from the '0' and '-0.4' groupings differ from one another by over 6.7 per cent of the true value (rising to about 20 per cent).

So much for the effect on the accuracy of the sample S.D. But after all, the sample S.D. is not important in itself. Its only importance lies in the estimate it gives us of the  $\sigma$  of the population from which it is drawn. The question is therefore how far the inevitable variability of random sampling tends to be increased by the use of broader categories and by their position. Let us first study the effects of these on the S.D.s of a completely normal distribution.

*Analysis applied to 'normal' distribution.*—The 'second moment' or variance of a distribution is the average size of  $x^2$ , where  $x$  is the deviation of individual values from the mean. The standard deviation ( $\sigma$ ) is the square root of the variance, and if the distribution is 'normal' 68.27 per cent of the individual values deviate from the mean by less than this amount and nearly 32 per cent deviate by more. Since a normal distribution has no theoretical limits, but extends indefinitely to where  $x$  is infinitely large and occurs with infinite rareness, its spread is measured by the size of its  $\sigma$ .

The computation of the variance is a mathematical step towards getting  $\sigma$ ; each value of  $x^2$  is multiplied<sup>2</sup> by the frequency ( $y$ ) of that value of  $x$ , and the sum of all the  $x^2y$  values is divided by the total number,  $n$ . The series of  $\frac{x^2y}{nh}$  values

for a normal distribution in infinitely small categories can be represented graphically by the continuous-line twin curve of Fig. 3; the area underneath the curve represents the true variance.<sup>2</sup> For this curve to be reached exactly, however, all the  $x$  and  $y$  values on which it is based must themselves be exact, an ideal which may be approached but cannot be quite reached in practice; for we have to group the values of  $x$ , even if the breadth of the group is only that of the unit to which we measure, and in grouping we treat all within the limits of the group as if concentrated at its mid-point. Let us suppose our groups  $1.8\sigma$  broad, with their mid-points where the verticals are placed in Fig. 3. Then the sum of our  $x^2y$  values is not the area within the curve but that within the polygon; and this sum, divided by  $nh$ , does not give us the true variance or second moment, but what is called the 'raw moment.'

Many anthropologists, including those who base their procedure on Martin's *Lehrbuch*, use it raw and think that the square root of it always gives them a correct S.D. The extent of their average error depends on the breadth of their categories. Always their S.D. exaggerates, and does so as follows:—

<sup>2</sup>  $y$  is the number, and  $\frac{y}{n}$  the proportion, of values in a category;  $\frac{y}{nh}$  (histogram height) is unchanged as  $h$  decreases, and for infinitely fine categories tends to the  $z$  of Pearson's Table II.

Breadth of category ... ..	$0.2\sigma$	$0.6\sigma$	$1.0\sigma$	$1.4\sigma$	$1.8\sigma$	$2.0\sigma$	$2.2\sigma$
Exaggeration ... ..	0.2%	1.5%	4.1%	7.9%	12.7%	15.5%	18.5%

If we draw a curve through the corners of such a polygon (the intermediate points being given by the corners of other polygons with the same value of  $h$  but with the mid-points falling elsewhere), the area contained within this curve (shown dotted in Fig. 3) will be approximately equal to

that within the polygon and will be  $\frac{h^2}{12}$  greater

than that within the correct curve. We therefore apply Sheppard's correction by deducting  $\frac{h^2}{12}$

from the raw moment, and have then got as near the true variance as the grouped data permit. I am indebted to Dr. H. O. Hartley of Scientific Computing Service Ltd. for making clear to me the above relationships, and to Mr. G. B. Hey

of that firm for calculating some of the results quoted in this paper.

Any error in thus calculating the  $\sigma$  of a normal distribution lies in the fact that the area within the polygon may not be equal to that within the curve through its corners. Fig. 4 shows these curves for three breadths of category, each with the polygons obtained when (a) the mean, 0, coincides with a mid-point, (b)  $-0.4\sigma$  does so, (c) 0 is a dividing point.

We find by calculation that polygon-area exceeds curve-area most when the categories are as in (c) and least when as in (a). It is correct when 0 lies just halfway between the mid-point of a category and one of its limits. Expressing the maximum error in polygon-area (*i.e.* in raw moment) as a percentage of the true variance, we have :

Category breadth ... ..	$2.2\sigma$	$2.0\sigma$	$1.8\sigma$	$1.4\sigma$	$1.0\sigma$
Maximum error ... ..	$\pm 7.60\%$	$\pm 3.10\%$	$\pm 0.98\%$	$\pm 0.02\%$	$\pm 0.00003\%$

Fig. 5 shows for the first three how the error changes as a category-division moves away from 0; the change with the smaller categories is too small to be shown on this scale.

Table I shows how the groupings (a), (b) and (c) affect the S.D. obtained for a normal distribution. When 0 coincides with a category-limit, the S.D. increases as the categories broaden; when

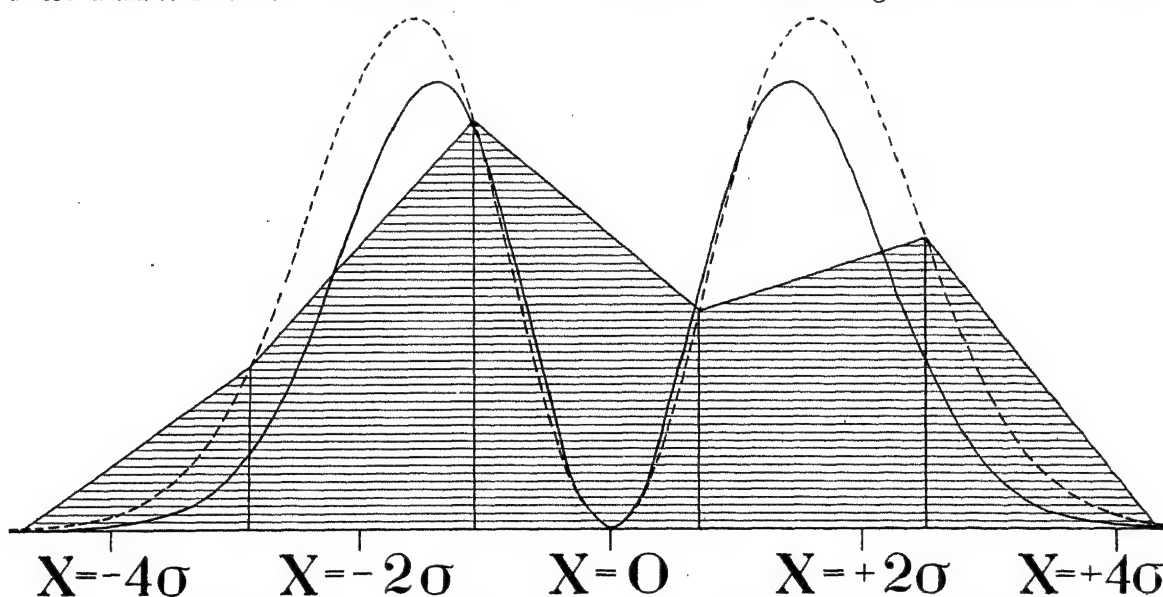


FIG. 3. COMPARISON BETWEEN SIZE OF RAW MOMENT (DERIVED FROM CATEGORIES  $1.8\sigma$  BROAD) AND TRUE VARIANCE:—AREA WITHIN POLYGON REPRESENTS RAW MOMENT WHEN THE POINT  $X = -1.6\sigma$  COINCIDES WITH A CATEGORY MID-POINT; AREA WITHIN '---' CURVE GIVES MEAN AREA OF RAW MOMENTS WITH CATEGORY MID-POINTS IN ANY POSITION; AREA WITHIN '—' CURVE GIVES TRUE VARIANCE.

$-0.4\sigma$  is at a category mid-point it decreases, but not exactly proportionate since the distribution itself could be no more than very approximately normal. The card-population's S.D. undergoes similar changes, but not exactly proportionate since the distribution itself could be no more than very approximately normal.

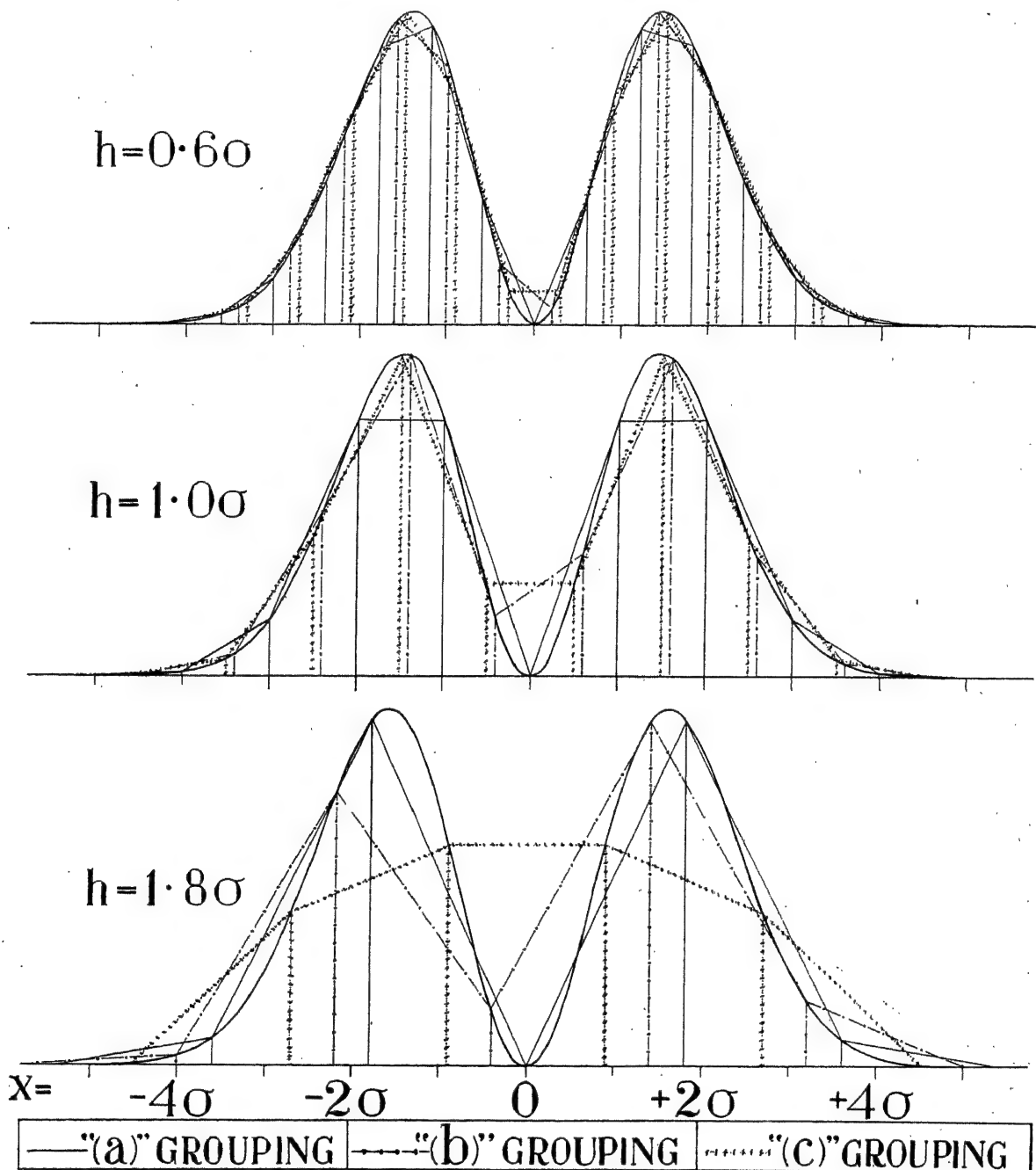


FIG. 4. FOR THREE DIFFERENT BREADTHS OF GROUPING, THE AREAS WITHIN THE POLYGONS REPRESENT THE RAW MOMENTS DERIVED FROM THREE DIFFERENT POSITIONS (“A”) (“B”) AND (“C”) OF CATEGORIES; AREA WITHIN TWIN CURVES REPRESENTS AVERAGE AREA OF ALL RAW MOMENTS BASED ON THE GIVEN BREADTH OF GROUPING.

TABLE I

Breadth of categ.	Calculated values of $\sigma$ of normal distribution						Calculated $\sigma$ of card-population			
	0 at pt. of division	Change	0 at mid-pt. of a cat.	Change	0.4 $\sigma$ at mid-pt. of a cat.	Change	0 at mid-pt. of a cat.	Change	0.4 $\sigma$ at mid-pt. of a cat.	Change
0.2 $\sigma$	1.00000		1.00000		1.00000		0.99150		0.99150	
0.6 $\sigma$	1.00000	0%	1.00000	0%	1.00000	0%	0.99148	-0.00%	0.99150	0%
1.0 $\sigma$	1.00000	0%	1.00000	0%	1.00000	0%	0.99432	+0.28%		
1.4 $\sigma$	1.00009	+0.01%	0.99991	-0.01%	1.00002	+0.00%	0.99061	-0.09%	0.99236	+0.09%
1.8 $\sigma$	1.00488	+0.49%	0.99510	-0.49%	0.99915	-0.09%	0.98700	-0.45%	0.98817	-0.34%
2.0 $\sigma$	1.01572	+1.57%	0.98403	-1.60%	0.99510	-0.49%	0.96471	-2.70%		
2.2 $\sigma$	1.03733	+3.73%	0.96122	-3.88%	0.97685	-2.32%	0.95009	-4.18%		

We now come to the question of how far category breadth and position affect the accuracy with which the sample S.D. tends to reflect the  $\sigma$  of the parent population. In order to keep separate these effects in comparing our 'A' and 'B' series, which had been grouped on different principles, it was found necessary to add another 350 to the 750 sample S.D.s already calculated. We now divided the 'B's' into two equal groups, 'Ba' and 'Bb,' making three series of 50 in all.

*Effect of category breadth and position on the mean value of sample S.D.s.*—The mean values of our three series of S.D.s when  $h=0.2\sigma$  are respectively 1.00102, 0.99986 and 0.98936; that of the 150 combined, 0.99713. Table II gives the extent to which these values are modified as the grouping is broadened and shifted. The only grouping to which the S.D.s themselves were subjected is that involved in recording them to three places of decimals.

TABLE II

Breadth of grouping	Series	'0' grouping		'-0.4' grouping		'End' grouping	
		Mean val. of S.D.s	Change	Mean val. of S.D.s	Change	Mean val. of S.D.s	Change
0.6 $\sigma$	Card pop. A (50)	1.00008	-0.00% -0.09%	0.99850	0 -0.25%		
1.0 $\sigma$	Card pop. A (50) Ba (50) Bb (50) A+B (150)	1.01102 1.00500 0.99464 1.00355	+0.28% +1.00% +0.51% +0.53% +0.68%			0.99464 0.98754 0.97892 0.98703	-0.64% -1.23% -1.06% -0.98%
1.4 $\sigma$	Card pop. A (50)	0.99868	-0.09% -0.23%	0.99354	+0.09% -0.75%		
1.8 $\sigma$	Card pop. A (50) Ba (50) Bb (50) A+B (150)	0.99596 0.99432 0.97600 0.98876	-0.45% -0.51% -0.56% -1.35% -0.80%	1.00254	-0.34% +0.15%		
2.0 $\sigma$	Card pop. A (50) Ba (50) Bb (50) A+B (150)		-2.70%			0.97800 0.96542 0.94092 0.96145	-2.19% -3.44% -4.90% -3.54%
2.2 $\sigma$	Card pop. A (50)	0.95876	-4.18% -4.22%				

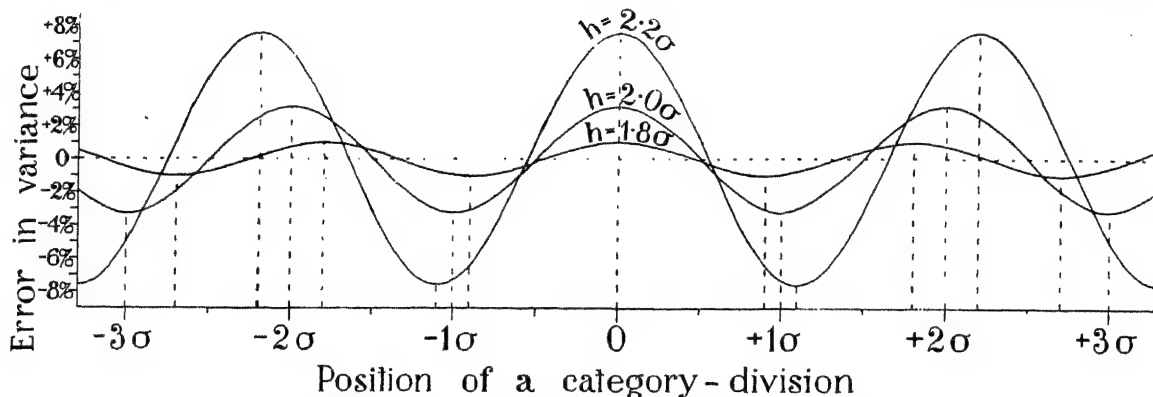


FIG. 5. DISTRIBUTIONS OF ERRORS IN CALCULATION OF VARIANCE, RESULTING FROM POSITION OF CATEGORY DIVISIONS, WHERE CATEGORIES ARE RESPECTIVELY  $1.8\sigma$ ,  $2.0\sigma$  AND  $2.2\sigma$  BROAD.

Where the grouping is the same for parent population and samples, we expect and find the change to be similar, though not of course identical. I know of no test of the unusualness of the difference between them, though I presume them due to random sampling alone. Can we detect any cause other than this for the low values under 'end' grouping, in which the category limits have no constant position relative to 0? We shall see from Table IV that it produces a smaller average number of categories, but we have also seen that this in itself may not involve a decrease in the mean S.D.: it may equally well involve an increase. By putting a group limit just outside the highest or lowest sample value, however, we eliminate the possibility of having the mid-point of the end-category farther from 0 than any value within it. And possibilities such as this must be included if we are to get the same average value for the S.D.s of grouped and ungrouped data when category-position is constant, and ideal with regard to 0. The greater the distance between mid-point and boundary, the greater the possible increase in the S.D. if the values confined to the near end of the category's range are reckoned as being in the middle; our 'end' grouping prevents this at one end of the sample range and thus involves a decrease in mean variability as  $h$  increases. The decrease is more rapid than when 0 always coincides with a category mid-point. By the same token, 'end' S.D.s are less variable than '0' S.D.s, a fact which Table III will bear out.

*Effect of category breadth and position on the variability of sample S.D.s.*—Although calculations of a normal  $\sigma$  vary with category position when the categories are broad, they vary within

exactly defined maxima, being limited by the fact that the corners of the resultant polygon always lie on the appropriate curve. In random samples the polygons are not thus confined, and the changes in polygon-area due to shifts of position will be greater, and less systematic: increasingly so, of course, as  $h$  increases or as a decrease in the sample's size favours a more erratic distribution. Table III shows the extent to which the variability in the S.D.s is affected by the grouping, and Fig. 6 represents graphically such of the distributions as are based on 150 sample S.D.s.

There is no obvious difference in tendency between the '0' and '-0.4' increases, and with only 50 samples random differences are inevitable. The corresponding S.D.s from 'end' groupings are, as expected, less variable.

*Number of categories, and range, for different groupings.*—In the distributions shown in Table IV, the maximum number of categories is limited by the card-population. This lacked the two tails of the normal distribution, each containing just under  $\frac{1}{1000}$  of the latter's area: if they had been kept, in about  $\frac{1}{5}$  of the samples of 100 cards the number of  $0.2\sigma$  categories would have been exceeded, and we see the mean number to be 0.3 lower than its theoretical equivalent. For broader groupings Table IV shows only slight and random differences between the theoretical values and ours. As we should expect, those for 'end' groupings are smaller throughout and decrease more rapidly as the categories broaden.

Since the range's average length grows as  $n$  increases (though its variability lessens), Table IV must be supplemented by Table V. For all theoretical values of the mean range of



TABLE III

Breadth of grouping	Series	'0' grouping		'-0.4' grouping		'End' grouping	
		Standard devn. of S.D.s	Change	Standard devn. of S.D.s	Change	Standard devn. of S.D.s	Change
0.2σ	A (50) Ba (50) Bb (50) A+B (150)	0.08889 0.07999 0.06298 0.07824		0.08889 0.07999 0.06298 0.07824			
0.6σ	A (50)	0.08925	+ 0.40%	0.08960	+ 0.80%		
1.0σ	A (50) Ba (50) Bb (50) A+B (150)	0.10098 0.08717 0.06934 0.08706	+13.60% + 8.98% +10.10% +11.39%			0.09354 0.08517 0.06426 0.08217	+ 5.23% + 6.48% + 2.03% + 5.13%
1.4σ	A (50)	0.10289	+15.75%	0.09673	+ 8.82%		
1.8σ	A (50) Ba (50) Bb (50) A+B (150)	0.10582 0.09206 0.08368 0.09473	+19.05% +15.09% +32.87% +21.20%	0.11130	+25.21%		
2.0σ	A (50) Ba (50) Bb (50) A+B (150)					0.11293 0.08387 0.07012 0.09204	+27.04% + 4.86% +11.34% +17.76%
2.2σ	A (50)	0.12237	+37.66%				

TABLE IV

Grouping		150 samples ( $n=100$ )											Theoret. means		
Breadth	System	Distribution of no. of categories										Mean	Mean <sup>3</sup> range	No. of categ.	Range <sup>3</sup>
		11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2				
0.2σ		max. 31				min. 17			S.D. 2.57			25.77	4.95σ	26.08	5.015σ
0.6σ	'0' 'end'	15 2	51 40	59 59	21 41	2 6	2 2					9.33 8.90	5.00σ 4.74σ	9.36	5.016σ
1.0σ	'0' 'end'					40 2	71 80	37 65	2 3			5.99 5.54	4.99σ 4.54σ	5.97	4.972σ
1.4σ	'0' 'end'							109 26	37 116	4 8		4.70 4.12	5.18σ 4.37σ	4.72	5.203σ
1.8σ	'0' 'end'							16	65 42	69 106	2	3.65 3.07	4.77σ 3.73σ	3.59	4.657σ
2.0σ	'end'								2	146	2	3.00	4.00σ		
2.2σ	'0' 'end'									150 133	17	3.00 2.89	4.40σ 3.58σ	3.09	4.608σ

<sup>3</sup> Between mid-points of end-categories.

TABLE V  
Mean range<sup>3</sup> and mean number of categories, with '0' grouping, for different values of  $n$ .

Breadth of grouping	$n=20$		$n=50$		$n=100$		$n=200$		$n=300$		$n=400$		$n=500$		$n=1,000$	
	Range	No. of categ.	Range	No. of categ.	Range	No. of categ.	Range	No. of categ.	Range	No. of categ.	Range	No. of categ.	Range	No. of categ.	Range	No. of categ.
0.2 $\sigma$	3.735 $\sigma$	19.67	4.498 $\sigma$	23.49	5.015 $\sigma$	26.08	5.492 $\sigma$	28.46	5.756 $\sigma$	29.78	5.936 $\sigma$	30.68	6.073 $\sigma$	31.37	6.483 $\sigma$	33.41
0.6 $\sigma$	3.735 $\sigma$	7.22	4.498 $\sigma$	8.50	5.016 $\sigma$	9.36	5.491 $\sigma$	10.15	5.752 $\sigma$	10.59	5.936 $\sigma$	10.89	6.077 $\sigma$	11.13	6.483 $\sigma$	11.81
1.0 $\sigma$	3.741 $\sigma$	4.74	4.496 $\sigma$	5.50	4.972 $\sigma$	5.97	5.517 $\sigma$	6.52	5.828 $\sigma$	6.83	6.015 $\sigma$	7.01	6.134 $\sigma$	7.13	6.418 $\sigma$	7.42
1.4 $\sigma$	3.650 $\sigma$	3.61	4.496 $\sigma$	4.21	5.203 $\sigma$	4.72	5.651 $\sigma$	5.04	5.777 $\sigma$	5.13	5.847 $\sigma$	5.18	5.908 $\sigma$	5.22	6.183 $\sigma$	5.42
1.8 $\sigma$	3.780 $\sigma$	3.10	4.174 $\sigma$	3.32	4.657 $\sigma$	3.59	5.405 $\sigma$	4.00	5.934 $\sigma$	4.30	6.307 $\sigma$	4.50	6.572 $\sigma$	4.65	7.101 $\sigma$	4.94
2.2 $\sigma$	4.204 $\sigma$	2.91	4.502 $\sigma$	3.05	4.608 $\sigma$	3.09	4.806 $\sigma$	3.18	4.994 $\sigma$	3.27	5.174 $\sigma$	3.35	5.345 $\sigma$	3.43	6.087 $\sigma$	3.77

grouped samples I am again indebted to the staff of Scientific Computing Service, Ltd.; to Dr. Hartley for working out the formula (which he will publish), and Mr. Hey for computing therefrom.

The values for  $h=0.2\sigma$  are exactly the same, to 5 places of decimals, as those for ungrouped samples. With broader grouping the mean range between mid-points of end-categories is larger or smaller according as they fall without or within the corresponding mean range ungrouped.

Tables IV and V form the connecting link between the data of Tables II and III and their practical application; for in practice the grouping of a sample is settled at the outset and in ignorance of  $\sigma$ . As a guide therefore, it is useful to note that when  $h=0.2\sigma$  most samples of 100 give 20-30 categories; also that when there are 12 or more categories  $h$  is unlikely to be as large as  $0.6\sigma$  which mostly gives 8-11. In samples with 8-11 categories  $h$  may be rather higher or lower than  $0.6\sigma$  but will not be as high as  $1.0\sigma$  unless  $n$  approaches 200; and so on.

*Final deductions.*—We have estimated the effect of category breadth on the S.D., with two types of experimental grouping: (1) category position fixed in relation to 0, the population mean, but random in the sample; (2) position fixed in relation to one end of the sample range but random in the population. We must now deduce its effect with the groupings that occur in practice.

1. Where categories are determined by the unit of measurement they have no fixed position in the sample—nor yet in relation to 0. How does this modify the results found for '0' and '-0.4' grouping? Though position relative to 0 tends variously to increase or diminish the S.D. derived from broad categories, the average category position, as Fig. 5 shows, is that ideal one which tends in neither direction. Thus

random position does not change the S.D.s' average value (nor, we found, does broad grouping), but only adds somewhat to their variability. How much? With our broadest grouping,  $h=2.2\sigma$ , it contributes errors ranging from  $-0.03878$  to  $+0.03733$ . Their range being limited their distribution is clearly not normal, but near enough for its S.D. to be put at about a sixth of the range, say about  $0.013$ . Combining this with the '0' variability, we get as the standard deviation of S.D.s from samples randomly grouped,  $\sqrt{.013^2 + .12237^2} = 0.12306$ . This is an increase of 37.73 per cent on the variability of 'ungrouped' S.D.s, as against 37.66 per cent for '0' grouping. So little being added we need not trouble to make the calculation for lower values of  $h$ , and can use our '0' values to gauge the probable accuracy of the S.D. of any sample of 100 grouped irrespective of its range. With some 16 or more categories it has practically as good a chance of giving us the population  $\sigma$  as is possible with a sample of this size (viz., error exceeds 14 per cent once in 20 times, 18 per cent once in 100), and if the number is 8 to 11 the chance is reduced by less than 1 per cent. With about 6 groups unreliability is increased by about 11 per cent; with 3 groups, by about 20 per cent if the end categories are fairly well filled, and nearer 40 per cent if they contain only a small proportion of the total. This last gives the S.D. of 100 the same reliability as the S.D. of 51 based on fine grouping.

If  $h$  is three-fifths of  $\sigma$  (usually 8-11 groups), a shift in category position will give a second S.D. differing from the first in 32 cases out of 100 by 3 per cent or more (up to about 9 per cent), the two values being equally likely to reflect the true  $\sigma$ . As  $h$  increases, the differences between the two will increase to the extent shown in Fig. 2.

2. Where the unit of measurement is small relative to the sample range further grouping is

<sup>3</sup> Between mid-points of end-categories.

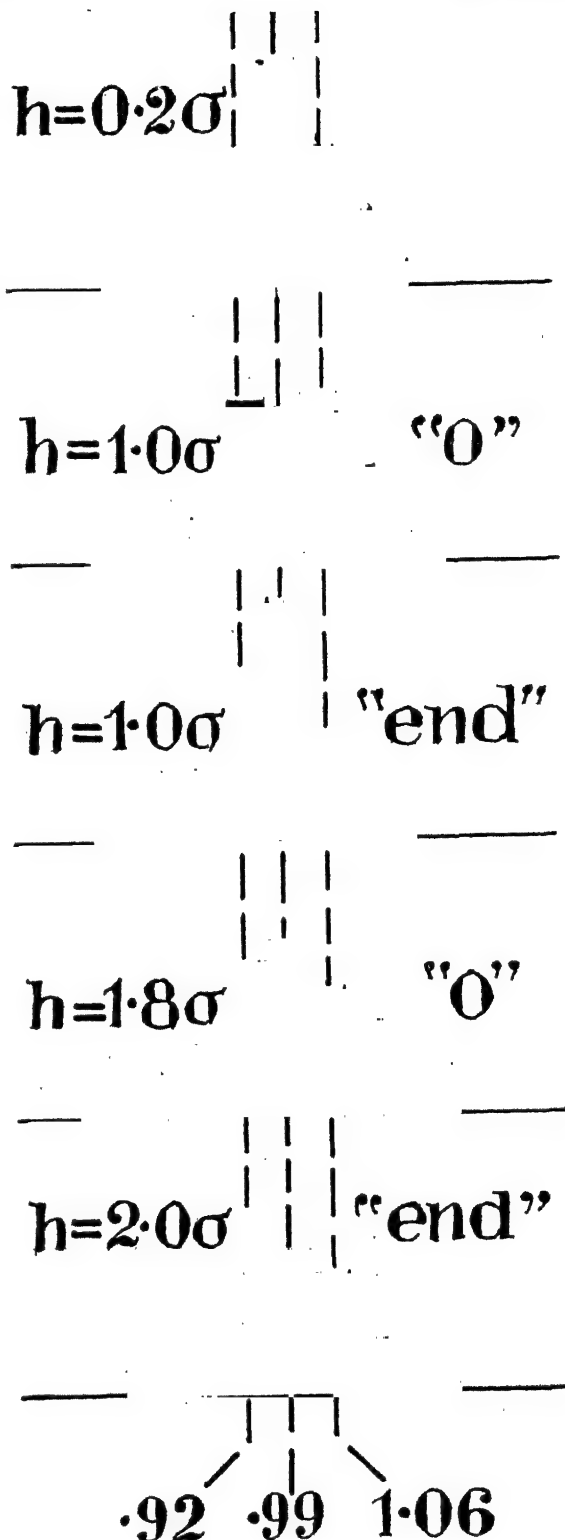
usual, in subdivisions of the range: this we may call 'two-end' grouping, as distinct from the 'one-end' grouping to which our experiment was limited by its fixed values of  $h$ . As this reduced the S.D.s' mean value by 1 per cent where  $h=\sigma$  and by 3.5 per cent where  $h=2\sigma$ , presumably the reductions by the usual 'two-end' grouping would have been 2 per cent and 7 per cent.<sup>4</sup> To see whether putting end-values at category centres might prevent this reduction, we selected the 46 samples which it was possible thus to divide into 4 categories, category-breadth being just under a third of the range. Their average  $h$  was  $1.65\sigma$  which, given the usual grouping, would reduce the average S.D. by about 4 per cent. Instead, the average of the 46 S.D.s was increased 1 per cent by the new grouping: on a longer series it might perhaps have been nil. This suggests that the best arrangement of broad categories is with the sample's end-values in the middle of or slightly beyond the middle of the terminal groups.

As to the S.D.s' variability: with  $h=\sigma$ , 'one-end' grouping increased it by 5 per cent, and by 18 per cent with  $h=2\sigma$ . Since the '0' increase with  $h=\sigma$  was more than double this, and was greater with  $h=1.8\sigma$  than 'one-end' with  $h=2.0\sigma$ , we wondered whether 'two-end' grouping might not remove the increase altogether. The new grouping of our 46 answered 'no,' though its increase of 10 per cent was less than the 13 per cent we might guess for 'one-end,' given the same value of  $h$ . Grouping in broad categories fails to extract from the sample the best possible estimate of population variability, but if the categories are well placed the S.D. of a sample of 100 with  $h$  equal to a third of its range will give as reliable an S.D. as one based on a finely-grouped sample of 84.

I here thank Mr. C. H. Perkins, A.R.I.B.A., for making my diagrams and Dr. H. O. Hartley for criticizing my script; and I acknowledge gratefully the Leverhulme Research Fellowship which made this investigation possible.

<sup>4</sup> Some evidence as to its effect with fine grouping was produced by our first calculations of the variability of parameters from the 50 'A' samples. The mean difference between 20 S.D.s based on 14-25 categories, and the corresponding S.D.s obtained 'by brute force' was -0.1 per cent, the maximum difference -2.5 per cent.

FIG. 6. DISTRIBUTION OF 150 SAMPLE S.D.s (100 IN SAMPLE), FROM DIFFERENT BREADTHS OF GROUPING BY '0' AND 'END' METHODS.



## OBITUARY.

**Sir George Macdonald, K.C.B., 1862—2 August, 1940.**

**181** In George Macdonald a remarkable combination of learning with practical ability found congenial and fruitful employment. His father, Dr. James Macdonald, was an archaeologist, as well as a teacher at Elgin, and the son, after a distinguished career at Edinburgh University, and Balliol College, Oxford, was classical master at Kelvinside Academy from 1887 to 1892, when he was appointed Lecturer in Greek at Glasgow University. Here the famous Hunterian Collection of Coins became his special care, and his great *Catalogue*, which appeared in 1907, established his position as a numismatist of first rank. In 1905 he had already given Rhind Lectures in Edinburgh on *Coin Types* in which his great knowledge was concentrated on a central group of problems, of general interest to scholars.

Meanwhile, in 1904, he entered the Department of Education, to take charge of the branch at Edinburgh, on the transfer of Scottish business from London. Here his administrative abilities had full scope; he served on the committees for the teaching of modern languages (1916) and for the superannuation of teachers (1922), and in the latter year became

Permanent Secretary. He was a member of the Royal Commissions on the Historical Monuments of Scotland, on the National Museums and Galleries, and on the Fine Arts in Scotland. For these and other services he was made C.B. in 1916 and K.C.B. in 1927.

Macdonald had always been interested in local antiquities, and especially in those of Roman Britain. He became a close friend and collaborator of Francis Haverfield, and reported in 1907 on the *Roman Forts at Bar Hill*. His general survey, *The Roman Wall in Scotland*, appeared in 1911; he revised and supplemented Haverfield's *Romanization of Britain and Roman Occupation of Britain*; and he was personally concerned in many principal excavations on Roman sites in Scotland. He was an original trustee of the Haverfield Fund for Roman Research, and from 1921 to 1926 was President of the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies. His wide scholarship, special knowledge of ancient coins, and intimate appreciation of Scottish landscape made his careful and closely reasoned contributions exceptionally valuable, in a field of study which lay literally at his door.

J. L. MYRES.

## REVIEWS.

## ASIA.

**Inner Asian Frontiers of China.** By Owen Lattimore. *American Geographical Society Research Series* No. 21. New York, 1940. xxiv + 586 pp., with maps.

**182** After business experience in China, the author of this book was inspired, by a first journey in 1925, to devote himself, first to the conditions of caravan trade, then to wider studies of the many different ways of life of the peoples of Inner Asia; with the support of the Social Science Research Council and the American Geographical Society, and other bodies, including our own Royal Geographical Society, and . . . leave as Director of the Page School . . . Relations at the John Hopkins University.

Anything that he writes comes, therefore, with exceptional authority. His book consists of four parts, the 'Historical Geography of the Great Wall,' the 'Frontiers of China in the Past Ages,' the 'Age of Nomadism,' and the 'Imperial Age,' when unified empire had emerged behind the unified frontier of the Great Wall. It thus covers all important aspects of the history and culture of China, but always with regard to the frontier problems which have ever disturbed its relations with the cultures of the Mongolian steppe, the forest peoples of Northern Manchuria, the agricultural 'Chinese Manchuria' of the south, and the more western peoples with whom China has so long had trade communication across the oases and deserts of Central Asia and the high wastes of Tibet.

The peculiarities of Chinese culture cannot be understood without retrospect over the early periods, neolithic and bronze-age, in which differentiation between 'Chinese' and 'barbarian' occurred, and without geographical reference to the conditions of settled life, and especially of irrigation-agriculture, first in northern

China, then in a second 'focal area' in the south. Repeated incursions of nomad-pastoral folk from the high interior have likewise to be explained, and the reactions of agricultural communities to them.

The conventional representation of the Chou people to whom the beginning of political structure in China are due, as . . . a veneer of Chinese culture, needs correction, as here, by closer acquaintance with their history. Like the Franks in Western Europe, they were forced, rather than tempted, into the predicament of having to defend what they had won by their own inroad, against subsequent aggressors from the same quarter; that is what makes Chinese 'feudalism' so extraordinarily interesting, and Lattimore's discussion of its problems and achievements so instructive. For China nearly grew into an almost European complex of regional nationalities; but "by the rise of Ch'in, what "did become significant was the reverse process of "encroachment on the identity and integrity of the "national states," (p. 403) and of this the counterpart is the replacement of regional 'walls' within China, by a "newer and greater fortified Frontier" (p. 405) expressing the differentiation of China as a whole from whatever lay outside the 'Great Wall.' Augustus and his successors attempted something of the kind in the West, and we may yet see another 'Great Wall' or *Limes* there, whenever European states compose their differences and define their common culture with a view to preserve and defend it.

A curious sequel is the emergence in Chinese history of what Lattimore characterizes as a 'Frontier Style,' for "either a Dynasty was founded beyond the Frontier "or on the Frontier, and moved inwards to establish "its control over China, or it was founded within China "and moved outwards . . ." And by 'style' is not

meant primarily something æsthetic or intellectual; far more fundamental is the adoption, by the Chao Chinese, of the warfare, economy, and so forth, of the mounted nomads; all the while that in inner China a specifically Chinese mode of life was taking shape, sedentary and "geared to a group of technical practices in agriculture and water conservancy" (p. 410). From the Chinese standpoint, what emerged on the frontier was a 'new kind of barbarism'; but it was 'new' in so far as it had become Chinese. Geographical circumstances counted for much: look at the land of Tai in North Shansi, sometimes within the Great Wall, sometimes without. These 'Frontier' territories acquired a political importance of their own, because they could throw their cultural weight inward or outward; on the whole they adhered to China, but with a "not entirely Chinese" method of dealing with problems essential to China. This is indeed the character of Chinese history under the Han dynasty (206 B.C.—220 A.D.); its numerous wars "though economically wasteful . . . were not 'destructive'"; its internal policy was a skilful balance of high and low, hereditary and professional administration, imperial and regional authority (p. 446). Once again one is reminded of Augustus. Fortunately there was a lull on the steppe, though before long the Hsiungnu (Turco-Mongol) leaders claimed the Chinese imperial title, 'great son of heaven,' outside the Wall, and the Frontier resumed its significance, with a new combination of steppe horsemanship and Chinese archery, like the contemporary Parthian regime in the Nearer East, combining nomad horse and Persian bow.

What follows illustrates with ever varying detail the 'persistent lack of integration between China and the 'Steppe,' and the recurrence of 'cycles' of crisis. Lattimore's conclusion is noteworthy, that "the only 'bridge that can really integrate a society that is 'essentially agricultural with one that is essentially 'pastoral—the intensive and the extensive economies —is the bridge of industrialism.'" Why industrialism was never evolved on either side is not yet fully clear, but this book is a weighty contribution to an aspect of human history which only needs to be indicated, to be appreciated in its world-wide significance. For, as its last paragraph notes, "China to-day is the major field of 'historical action in the Far East,' with the difference, however, that the Inner Asian Frontier is no longer its only one, and that industrialism, which has been delayed so long, exerts now its own tremendous impact, both on China itself and also on Inner Asia.

J. L. MYRES.

**Catégories Matrimoniales et Relations de Proximité dans la Chine ancienne.** By M. Granet. *Annales Sociologiques, Série B, Sociologie Religieuse.* Paris (Alcan) 1939. 1-254 pp. Price 70 francs.

Professor Granet's monograph should be of great interest to anthropologists and sinologists alike. It is a sociological interpretation of some ancient Chinese records, especially in the books of Li Chi and Yi Li.

Professor Granet is struck by the fact that in ancient China the ancestral tablets of the ruling families were arranged in such a way that individuals of two consecutive generations would not appear in the same vertical column, but grandfather and grandson would. This order was called by ancient Chinese *Chao Mu*. Thus, if a father was *Chao*, his son would be *Mu*. He thinks that there is an essential opposition between those belonging to two consecutive generations, i.e., father and son. He infers that only certain cross-cousin marriages (e.g., mother's brother's daughter and father's sister's son) in a matrilineal system of descent, and the equivalence of uterine filiation with agnatic filiation,

can explain this opposition. If this cross-cousin marriage was carried out strictly between two clans, so that brothers and sisters were married into the same clan (i.e., each clan gives women to be wives in the clan from which that clan itself always takes women as wives), it would produce a social organization that corresponds to a division of the society into four matrimonial categories; within each exogamous group are two opposing consecutive generations. Then, he says, between this rigid matrimonial arrangement (*alliance unique*) and the later free matrimonial arrangement (*alliance libre*) due to the predominance of the agnatic dynasty, there could be a period of transition, in which, instead of a sole strictly-double-exchange kind of cross-cousin marriage, brothers and sisters were to marry into two different categories of the other clan; thus giving rise to a redivision of each of the four classes in two. This arrangement would make up a social system which "in number at least," says Professor Granet, "correspond to the Australian system"; and he continues, "It is generally admitted to-day that an organization of eight classes was preceded by an organization of four classes."

In attempting to prove this thesis, Professor Granet travels widely in ancient and modern Chinese data. But except in only a few instances the author gives no indication as to the sources of the data. We all know that Professor Granet is a famous sinologist and has been extremely productive in studies of ancient Chinese societies. But at the same time one has to realize also that China is a large country and its history long. Such an omission becomes very serious, especially when we examine some of Professor Granet's data, which are supposed to have been drawn from present-day China. It is impossible to enumerate all of them. Only some instances may be given here. For example:

"To-day still, and even more perhaps, in the country as well as in the city, the most violent vendettas come from quarrels which the women have against their husbands, and which their relatives pacify quickly in order to preserve the domestic honour. Only between groups united by marriage are vendettas allowed."

One can only ask, where? As far as I know, in Peiping, Tai Yuan, North-eastern peninsula of Shantung Province, and towns and villages in south Manchuria, the most violent family trouble often comes from quarrels between a woman and her husband's mother. When the young woman's husband takes sides with his wife (as often happens), then the trouble is greatest. Dr. H. T. Fei's data from an Eastern China village also support my observation (*Peasant Life in China*, London, 1939).

In order to show that generation was explicitly indicated in the personal names in archaic China, he has embarked on a long digression about the usage of Pei Fen Tzu in present day China (pp. 84-85). We are given to understand that the Chinese to-day goes about trying to find out if a stranger he meets is or is not of the same family name as himself, and then they compare each other's personal names to find out if they are on the same generation or not. I wish to remind Granet that, firstly, the Chinese, like an Englishman or a Frenchman, when meeting another would communicate their family names to each other. This is different from saying that they want to find out if the other person is of the same family name as himself. Professor Granet should have given some evidence for this difference in intention on the part of the Chinese. Secondly, the personal names that they communicate to each other are never the family-given personal names, but are *Haos*, which most adults have taken for themselves.

There are not only two names for each adult, as Granet thinks, one the child-name (*nom d'enfance*) and the other, a name of promotion (*nom de promotion*), the latter received when attaining 'majority.' All scholarly individuals, before the Republic, had four names, and most others had three names. The four names of the scholarly person were: *Hsiao Ming*, ('small name,' or *nom d'enfance*), *Hsuo Ming* or *Ta Ming* ('big name or school-name'; it is also the name to be used in ancestral cult), *K'ao Ming* ('examination-name'); and *Hao* (the ceremonial name, for communicating to friends and general social purposes). Since the founding of the Republic, the 'examination-name' has naturally been dropped. The child-name is never used after one has been married. Now the school-name usually indicates the generation of the individual in the entire clan, traceable in one genealogical tree, while the examination name indicates his generation in the individual family—among sons of the same father.<sup>1</sup> But the *Hao* indicates nothing of the kind. It is taken with reference either to the person's school-name or to the examination-name, but it is entirely impossible to infer from it the real school-name or examination-name.

Perhaps Professor Granet has overlooked the fact that, in some of the afore-mentioned places in China, the people on meeting each other have no means of interesting—and do not interest—themselves in establishing their family generations.

If one had more space one could go on quoting such hear-say evidence.

The use of terms in the book is not always careful. For example, of 'horror of endogamy,' 'horror of obliquity' (pp. 38-39), or 'majority' (p. 93). By the last term it is evidently meant the ancient 'rite de passage,' *Kuan* (for boys) and *Ki* (for girls). But surely the author must realize that such rites do not correspond at all to the European concept of 'majority.' They have different social implications.

In a short review it is impossible to touch upon all Professor Granet's treatment of the subject, although I find it difficult to agree with him on both the handling of the data and the method of reasoning. I have examined the entire question in a separate paper, in which I have given a reinterpretation of the 'Order of Chao 'Mu,' to be published shortly. FRANCIS L. K. HSU.

**Suye Mura : A Japanese Village.** By John F. Embree. University of Chicago Publications in Anthropology, Ethnological Series. University of Chicago Press and Cambridge University Press, 1939. 8½ × 5½ in. xxvii + 354 pp., with 36 half-tone photographs and 10 maps or charts. Price 3 dollars.

The Social Science Division of the University of Chicago began, under the direction of Professor A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, a research—which unfortunately had to be interrupted—on types of society in eastern Asia. The present excellent book is the first publication resulting from that research. We have, accordingly, not only, for our knowledge, of how the Japanese peasant

and those dependent on him lived, to some extent on the fiction, with all its disadvantages, of Japanese writers or of Europeans long resident in Japan, but for the most part on the works of scholars interested primarily in specific activities—cultural, technical, industrial, economic—which, of high quality as records, seldom were limited to one certain locality, and in consequence were difficult to relate, excepting in a minor degree, to other activities of the particular populations among whom they had been observed. Here, for the first time, we have an integrated account of a small Japanese community, living close to the soil, yet in touch with outer activities and, like a tough clay, stiff in itself but sufficiently plastic to take on new forms under pressure and even, in parts of its surface, to acquire sharp impressions. The account is especially valuable in that it gives us a highly-detailed description of a community, far distant from the centres of the intruding European culture and small enough to be observed as a whole, with all its 'relationships,' which seemingly has not yet been modified by the conditions which have so transformed urban and suburban Japan. Would that we had a similar account written even fifty years ago!

In reviewing a book so closely packed with useful data, it is impracticable to enter into detail. The eight chapters, which cover—with a truly sympathetic understanding of the people and their problems which is pleasurable to observe—the 'Historical Background,' 'Village Organization,' 'Family,' 'Economy,' 'Religion,' 'of Co-operation,' 'Social Classes and Associations,' 'The Life-History of the Individual,' 'Changes observable in the Social Structure,' 'Mura,' are supplemented by a 'Bibliography' and an extremely good and comprehensive 'Index.' The half-tone photographs, two to a page, are clear, on a sufficiently large scale, and thoroughly pertinent.

The chapter on 'Religion' (pp. 221-98)—inevitably much compressed to bring it into apposite perspective with the other chapters—shows us the essentially practical nature of the religion of the ordinary inhabitant of Suye, who resorts to it far more commonly for the benefit of his body than for that of the less tangible part of his being. So, even to-day, local variations in beliefs and in their associated practices still persist, in spite of the levelling effects of the printing-press, easy communications with other parts of Japan, the interminglings of people drawn from many sections of the country, and the obsolescence or the virtual disappearance of much that was traditional, combined with the effect of a general use of the official European calendar on customs whose basis was the lunar calendar. While the student of comparative religion will find summarized in this chapter much that he has read elsewhere, he is likely to be well repaid by much that is new to him, and by the fresh outlook—that of a social anthropologist rather than of a folklorist—of its writer. W. L. H.

**Journal of the Indian Anthropological Institute.** Vol. I. 1-2. Calcutta (published by the University), 1938. Price outside India: 7s. 6d. per volume.

The Indian Anthropological Institute was established in 1936, with Dr. J. H. Hutton as its first President. It has not been long in organizing its *Journal*, the first half-volume of which is under notice here. It contains varied matter, the President's address on the 'Future of Anthropology in India,' and six other papers, one of which by Dr. Biren Bonnerjee is on 'Fishhooks in North America' (with plates and a bibliography), the re-

<sup>1</sup> It is not to be lost sight of, that in many families *Ta Ming* has only one word, so that it is impossible to indicate the generation. Granet also says that names indicate the relative age of the person among his brothers and cousins. This cannot be done. I wish Professor Granet would tell us how he thinks it is to be indicated. We must also remind Professor Granet that this practice of *Pei Fen Tzu* in personal names is disappearing in large cities and industrial centres; so that he, like other general sinologists, should learn to differentiate among different sections of Chinese when saying: "en Chine de nos jours encore . . ."



mainder on Indian topics: 'Pre- and Proto-Historic Archaeology,' by Lt.-Col. D. S. Gordon; 'A Lhota-Naga "Apotia" Death,' by Mr. J. C. Mills; 'Anthropology in India,' by Col. Germano da Silva Correia, of Goa; 'Indian Oil Presses and Oil Ex-

'traction' (with plates), by Professor K. P. Chattopadhyay; and a 'Classification of the Nasal Elevation Index,' by Mr. Sasanka Sekher Sarkar.

The new *Journal* will receive a hearty welcome, and best wishes for its continuance. J. L. M.

### ARCHAEOLOGY.

**Italische Gräberkunde.** By Friedrich von Duhn. Part II. Completed and revised after von Duhn's death by Professor F. Messerschmidt, University of K... 383 pp., 6 figures in text, 40 plates, £... (Winter) 1939.

More than ten years have elapsed since the first volume of von Duhn's *Italische Gräberkunde* was published. From the start the idea on which the publication was based was not a very happy one. Even when the first volume was published it must have been clear that the cultural development of a people could not be reconstructed from its tombs only. Moreover, as a friend of Pigorini, von Duhn based his work on the hypothesis of a Terramare people of Indo-European origin who migrated from their original home in the Po valley through Italy down to Taranto, founding Rome on their way. As this idea as well had to be dropped, it cannot have been an easy task to carry on with this work. The second part therefore is only to a small extent the original work of von Duhn, but has to be credited to his successor Messerschmidt. It is concerned with the culture of the population of the East coast of Italy, Veneti, Piceni, and Japygians. These three peoples are for him Illyric; he makes however a certain restriction as to the Piceni, in whom, he says, the indigenous element, fully subdued in the North and in the South, succeeded in maintaining itself, and thus a mixed culture resulted. The Piceni do not cremate their dead, but bury them; the corpse is in a contracted position. For Messerschmidt, the Illyrians are the people of the 'Lausitzer Kultur,' and they originated between the Elbe and the Vistula.

This idea seems to have been taken from the youngest school of German prehistorians led by B. von Richt-hofen. There will not be many outside Germany who will follow Messerschmidt in this hypothesis. It is certainly irritating to hear him call the Veneti, the people of Timmari, and those of Scoglie del Tonno (Taranto) 'Urnenfeldleute,' and the people of Picenum 'Hügelgrableute,' though he has to admit himself that it was not their custom to bury their dead under a mountain of earth. Where the archaeological reasons do not serve him well enough, Messerschmidt tries to supplement them by linguistic and 'racial' ones. Thus I am afraid the leading idea of the *Italische Gräberkunde*, Part II, will not escape the fate of those of Part I; with the difference that von Duhn's ideas were held by most of the leading scholars of his time, which cannot be said of those of Messerschmidt.

There remains the value of the book as a collection of material otherwise difficult to reach. There the book is specially good in the part dealing with the Veneti, where the author seems to have spent a considerable time, and has given us a comprehensive study. Unfortunately the book is written in a language that is almost impossible to understand, as you have to read many sentences twice, and even then are in doubt what the author really meant. The 40 plates are good, so far as they are made from the author's photographs. Unfortunately many are taken from older publications, and are line-drawings, which are far from being correct, and which one would wish to see eliminated at last from our textbooks.

ELISE J. BAUMGÄRTEL.

### CORRESPONDENCE.

**Cowrie Shells in the Central Provinces of India.** (Cf. MAN, 1939, 165.)

**187** SIR,—I can add further evidence from peninsular India as to the wearing of cowries by men and their use to avert the Evil Eye.

In Bastar State the Hill Maria men wear above their loin cloth, but so close to it as to be largely concealed by it, a girdle of cowrie shells; but now that for forty years or more cowries have ceased to be the local currency, the wearing of the cowrie girdle is dying out, though old girdles are jealously preserved. This custom has been reported of the Maria since 1862. The Bison-horn Maria men wear hanging from their bison-horn dancing head-dress "a brow-piece of red or blue cloth, with a fringe, single or double, of closely-stitched cowries along its lower edge, and from five to ten tassels of strings of cowries hanging from it over the face, . . . tied over the lower rim of the head-dress; the brow-piece is often further adorned in the centre or edges with flakes of mica; or groups of cowries, or brass studs, or a pattern of small pieces of cloth of contrasting colours. New cowries being unobtainable, often this brow-piece is replaced by extra folds of "pagri cloth." The references are to my book *The Maria Gonds of Bastar* (Oxford, 1938) pp. 63, 69 and 80. It is possible that the fact that, till comparatively recently, the cowrie was the only form of currency known in Bastar may explain its use for ornamentation, just as the modern Gond, Korku, or Banjara, amongst other Indian tribes, use current silver coins.

I have seldom seen women in this province wearing cowries, but in a recent tour in Betul District I saw many Korku women wearing necklaces of cowrie shells arranged in clusters of three, with red and blue glass beads at the centre of the clusters, making them resemble flowers.

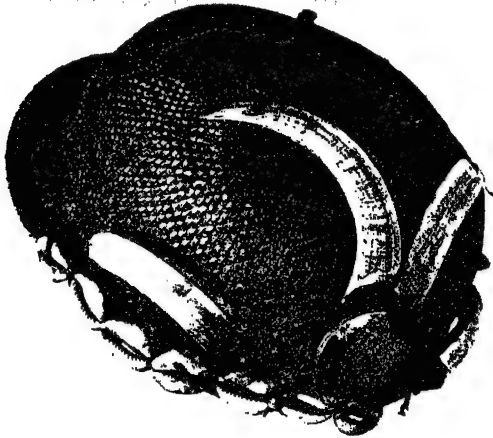
More interesting, however, was the attachment of a cowrie to the leaf-packet of seed consecrated at the *bidri* ceremony that immediately precedes the sowing of the rains crops. This was seen in a Korku village, also in Betul District; the Gond neighbours have the same custom. Each cultivator brings a measure of grain to the *bhumka* before the shrine of Dongar Deo, and out of the seed thus presented the *bhumka* gives back to each a small leaf packet of 'lucky' seed, which the householder takes back and fastens to the basket which he will use to contain his seed, when he starts sowing a few days later. Attached to each packet of seed which I saw thus fastened to the seed-baskets were a small white dried onion, intended to represent the maize-cobs, and two dark marking-nuts, intended to represent the millet (*juari*) cobs, that would result from the sowing, and also a cowrie shell. One might be tempted to suppose here that the shell is a fertility symbol. Actually, however, the Korku and the Gond regard it as an amulet for averting the Evil Eye, for which use might be compared Crooke's remarks that the cowrie, when worn as a protective, has such sympathy with its wearer that it cracks when the Evil Eye falls on it ('Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India,' p. 288).

S. C. Roy (*The Oraons of Chhota Nagpur*, p. 102) mentions the wearing of cowrie shell on the necks of children to ward off the Evil Eye.

Crooke also mentions (*l.c.* p. 366) the decoration by the Banjara of their sacred bullock *Hatadiya* with silken streamers and cowrie shells. W. V. GRIGSON.  
*Chhindwara, C.P., India.*

**The Cowrie Shell in Formosa.** (*Cf.* MAN, 1940, 20, 79, 101, 102.) *Illustrated.*

**188** SIR,—The accompanying illustration shows the battle helmet of a warrior of Formosa; it is decorated with boars' tusks and cowrie shells. The shells are set horizontally giving the effect of an eye. It



BATTLE HELMET FROM FORMOSA, DECORATED WITH COWRIE SHELLS.

is very clear that here they are used merely as luck charms, for no warrior would go into battle wearing the representations of the female genitalia. The helmet is now in the Cambridge Museum of Ethnology and Archaeology, to the Curator of which I am indebted for permission to publish it. M. A. MURRAY.

**Cannibalism in Modern Egypt.** (*Cf.* MAN, 1927, 97.)

**189** SIR,—In the *Note on the Survival of Cannibalistic Instinct* added to his article, MAN, 1927, 97, Mr. Hornblower speaks of the deliberate drinking of the blood of a murdered man in the riots of 1919.

The rioting and consequent horrors were only due to mob excitement whipped up (in some places whipped up literally, and in others paid for liberally) by interested parties, and—as Mr. Hornblower says—are not normal to the Egyptian fellah. In fact, immediately afterwards, I was received with the utmost kindness, when, accompanied only by my own servant, I was moving about the countryside of Mr. Hornblower's incident and of the one reported below. But in the paroxysm of excitement, which lasted only a few days, it happened that in the market-place of Deirut in Middle Egypt lumps of flesh hacked off the corpses were hawked about to the cry of *lahm inglezi! er-rotl b'ashrin! ahsan min lahm baqary!* 'English meat! Twenty (*faada*, i.e., half a piastre = 1½d.) a pound! Better than beef!'

Happily, I never heard that any was bought even at this very moderate price, still less that it was eaten. The action was only the final insult to the fallen enemy,

and proof of victory, like the cutting off of the genitals still practised by the Gallas. In ancient Egypt also this proof of victory was clearly an insult, for the soldiers of Merenptah and Ramesses III, who would themselves have been circumcised, only cut the male members off their uncircumcised enemies.<sup>1</sup> Their circumcised enemies merely had their hands cut off. The administration put this custom to the civilized use of counting up the trophies to provide statistics of the numbers of the slain.

Of course almost anything may happen under the stimulus of intense excitement or long-nursed resentment for a personal wrong which the law-courts will not avenge for you. But to emphasize how exceptional were the occurrences in the Deirut neighbourhood, I may add the following experiences. When the rioting in Cairo began I was living in the native suburb of Shubra, through which runs the main road to Qaliub. This province had the reputation of being the most anti-British and fierce district of the Delta. One morning on going down into the city I encountered a mob of Qaliubis on their way to riot in the town. As we were all going to the same place I went along with them, and we discussed the situation very amicably. On arrival, they rioted in the Ezbekiah Square, while I sat with other English people on the terrace of the Continental Hotel and watched them. Several unfortunates were shot.

Similarly, at Manfalût in Middle Egypt, on turning a sharp corner on to the embankment road to the station, I ran into the tail of one of these processions going in the same direction as myself. There was nothing for it but to push through as quietly as possible, though the sound of my servant clicking a couple of cartridges into his gun behind me emphasized the situation. However, everyone made way for us, and, when we were nearly through, an elderly man, sweating with excitement, danced backwards in front of me brandishing his *nebbot* (quarter-staff). Like the others he was shouting the Nationalist war-cry 'Yahia Saad Pasha Zaghlûl!' I replied to him, 'Of course, let Saad Pasha Zaghlûl live!', and then 'Saad Pasha? What's the matter with him?' With a disarming smile the old man said 'By Allah, ya Khawagah! Do I know?'

G. A. WAINWRIGHT.

**Boswell's Description of the 'Caschrom.'** *Cf.* MAN, 1933, 116.

**190** SIR,—In his article, *The Breast Plough* (MAN, 1933, 116, pp. 112, 113), Mr. Fussell mentions the agricultural implement called the *caschrom* or 'crooked-foot' in opposition to the *casdireach* or 'straight-foot,' which latter is the ordinary spade. He gives an illustration of a *caschrom*, and also a number of references to it in literature, the earliest of which is dated 1794. There happens to be another mention of it a few years earlier: it is given by Boswell in his *Tour in the Hebrides with Dr. Johnson*. While they were in the Isle of Skye, on Tuesday, 21 September, 1773, he saw some people digging a grave at Durinish, and says, "One man, at a little distance, was busy cutting a long turf for it, with the crooked spade which is used in Skye; a very awkward instrument. The iron part of it is like a plough-coulter. It has a rude tree for a handle, in which a wooden pin is placed for the foot to press upon." G. A. WAINWRIGHT.

<sup>1</sup> Merenptah, about 1220 B.C., Breasted, *Ancient Records*, p. 588, 601. Ramesses III, about 1190 B.C., *op. cit.*, iv, §52. Nelson and others, *Medinet Habu* (Chicago), Pls. 22, 23, 75, and for the hands only Pls. 42, 54A.





**ZACHARIE LE ROUZIC OF CARNAC.**

*Photograph by V. C. C. Collum : copyright reserved.*

# MAN

## A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE  
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

XL, 191-211

NOVEMBER, 1940

### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

With Plate L.

**ZACHARIE LE ROUZIC OF CARNAC: IN MEMORIAM.** *By V. C. C. Collum. (Illustrated.)*

**191** Archæologists and Celticists who have visited Carnac and its old stone monuments, and who have known the gracious and picturesque personality of Zacharie le Rouzic, will mourn his death, because it cuts yet another link with the France of yesterday which could hold so many divers cultural elements in the *union sacrée* of French historical culture and French republican ideals of liberal humanism. Yet all his friends must be thankful that it took place on November 15th, 1939, at the age of seventy-five, and that he did not live to endure the agony of seeing his beloved Brittany under the heel of a foreign Governor, amputated from France

Over sixty years ago, the Scottish archæologist, James Miln, who was studying Romano-Gaulish remains in southern Brittany, hired the services of a small black-eyed boy to carry his sketching outfit on his exploratory expeditions around Carnac. This boy, son of a village spinner and weaver (who pretended that the mysteries of his art were a traditional secret inherited from magicians), was Zacharie le Rouzic. He had been punished, unjustly, as he felt, by the village priest, for asking, in the Church-owned school, an embarrassing question about the origin of God and the universe. He was sincere; the priest thought him impious. So the boy, at the age of ten, refused to return to

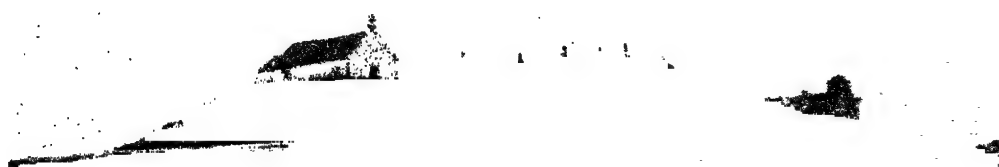


FIG. 1. MONT SAINT MICHEL DE CARNAC, WITH MOUND, MILN-LE ROUZIC MUSEUM TO LEFT, AND LE ROUZIC'S HOME TO RIGHT.

(Photograph by Z. le Rouzic.)

school, flung the dust of the Catholic Church from off his feet for ever, and started his apprenticeship to local archaeology and history, in which he included the geology as well as the arts and superstitious practices of his region. Breton legend fascinated his inquiring mind. His imagination became obsessed by the cruelty of the long-dead Roman oppressors of his native folk, which persists vividly in Breton folk-memory. The desire to know more about the earliest inhabitants of Armorica—the men who lived there before the Breton immigrants arrived, as refugees and missionaries, from Britain and Eire—became a master passion. He had the conviction that these primitive men, reputed to have raised the Stones of Carnac, the great mounds of Tumiac and St. Michel, and the mysterious tumps and cairns at Locmariaquer and on the isles in the Morbihan, with their strangely sculptured slabs and their eerie ghost stories, were his own ancestors. His physical type approximated to the Basque; there was Spanish blood in his veins, he told me, on the distaff side.

When Miln died in 1879, it was found that he had left his collection of local antiquities to the Commune of Carnac—on condition that the Commune neither alienated nor dispersed it, and that it appointed the young le Rouzic, then doing his military service in the French Marine, as Curator. Miln's family gave the little stone-built museum-hall to Carnac; the annexe in rear, where the sculptured slabs are displayed, is an addition by a more recent benefactor. Curator le Rouzic remained for more than half a century. He supported himself, the museum, and the young wife he married, by charging a small admission fee to visitors, by writing a brief illustrated *Guide* to the local monuments, by making picture-postcards of them and selling them, and by photographing local wedding-groups. He bought land on the shoulder of Mont St. Michel de Carnac, a height dominating the village and *plage* (fig. 1) and crowned by the largest burial-mound in France, built a house for himself a few yards from the site of the early medieval religious building that rose on the ruins of a Roman temple annexe that had communicated with the flank of the artificial mound, and lived there. Every visitor to the Museum was personally conducted by himself, and every visitor to the

interior of the Mound—whose entrance went through precisely that portion of it on to which the blind door of the old stone building had backed, and effectually camouflaged it—was personally conducted by his wife, for a small fee. Later he enlarged his house and turned it into an hotel, and installed one of his two daughters and her soldier husband in it. At the time of his death his second daughter, and her ex-soldier wine-merchant husband, Monsieur Jacq, who shared his father-in-law's interest in archaeology, had become proprietors of the hotel. In these humble ways he made a modest fortune which, after he had provided a dowry for each of his two daughters, was devoted entirely to enlarging the Museum collection.

He became the father of his people and one of the protagonists of the purely literary and musical Celticist movement. He would have nothing to do with the political separatist Breton movement, for he was always a staunch republican and son of France. From far and near the people came to him for advice and help. He was an implacable anti-clerical and an ardent democrat. He helped to start co-operative undertakings in the *bourg*, and he inspired the people with a pride in their Celtic culture and their 'prehistoric' remains. The peasants brought their casual finds—for a consideration—to the Museum, and allowed him to excavate monuments on their land. He secured his own appointment as local Inspector of Megalithic Monuments, and he was untiring, and often ingenious, in getting monuments scheduled for protection, or, better still, offered for sale to the Government, and in re-excavating them under the cloak of the Government 'repair' work, which he persuaded the Ministry of Fine Arts to authorize him to undertake at public expense. Sometimes he persuaded visitors to finance excavations under his direction. From being regarded by the pundits in Paris as a mere museum 'caretaker'—he had always been estimated at his true worth by visiting archaeologists from abroad—he became, in his later years, a beloved and revered figure throughout Europe and not least in official circles in Paris. For more than a quarter of a century, as deputy for the absentee mayor of Carnac, a relative bearing the same surname, he performed the office of mayor, and married all the young couples of the district. About ten years ago I went through his negatives of bridal couples and



had prints made from all those which appeared to me to provide useful anthropological record of local physical types. He revived old traditional fetes, such as the 'Blessing of the Beasts,' and the 'Circuit of the Stones'; the annual *Pardon* at Carnac, thus restored, became world-renowned. He collected *Légendes, Traditions, Coutumes et Contes du Pays* from Breton-speakers and published them as he received them, altering nothing, but translated into French, in 1909, with an appreciative preface by Anatole le Braz, of Rennes.

Despite the loss of the sight of one eye in an accident on board ship during his military service, he volunteered for service again, at the age of fifty, in 1914, and managed to be passed by a sympathetic military doctor. He was sent to Flanders as a heavy gunner, having been a gun-layer in the Navy. He was awarded the Croix de Guerre for bravery in the field, and was released to do urgent work in connexion with speeding up food production on the economic front in Brittany. After the Great War he was appointed a Chevalier of the Légion d'Honneur (Civil Division), in recognition of his services to public education at his Museum. It had become the Miln-Le Rouzic Museum 'recognized as of public utility', and, in recent years, under an education reorganization scheme, the Carnac museum became one of a selected few in the provinces chosen to illustrate definite cultural periods, functioning under the Museum of National Antiquities at St. Germain-en-Laye, as a scheduled institution for archæological study. Duplicate or redundant objects in the National Collection, bearing on megalithic culture in Brittany, were sent to Carnac. This was in consequence of the fact that some fifteen years ago Le Rouzic made a will bequeathing his own Collection to the Commune of Carnac on condition that it was neither separated from the Miln Collection, nor alienated, and that future Curators should be appointed by St. Germain. Thus the Collections, as we all supposed, had been safeguarded for future students in perpetuity. It has to be remembered, however, that Teutons take a sentimental interest in Celtic culture, seeing in it something alien from Latin or Anglo-Saxon tradition, and, strangely enough, since the Nazification of University teaching departments, an outpost of that imaginary Aryan culture which

(they maintain) sprang from a Teutonic root in North Germany.

I first knew le Rouzic and gained his friendship a few years after the Great War. In 1926 I had the pleasure of arranging for him a visit to England, Wales and Ireland—his first trip abroad—and, as he told me, the first time, except during his war-service, that he had been separated for more than a day from his wife. I persuaded him to wear his national costume, in which he cut a very gallant figure, and his lectures on the Carnac monuments were a great success at the University of Wales at Aberystwyth, and at the Royal Anthropological Institute. He adored the sea—could sleep best, he told me, in a raging storm—and he made the voyage to Wales, in a collier, direct from Brittany. Thence he made a dash to Eire to see the famous chambered mound at New Grange, and took Dublin by storm. Together with Mrs. Cunningham, of Devizes, I took him to see Avebury and Stonehenge. He told me that, in seeing these monuments, he had realized a lifelong ambition. In later years he was invited to Jersey to advise on the excavation of the great mound at La Hougue Bie, having, many years earlier, helped the States of Guernsey to sort out the archæological collection of the Rev. William Lukis which had been left to the States and now forms the 'Lukis and Guernsey Museum'. In later years he also visited the caves of the Dordogne. He had a flair for 'going straight to the spot' when digging, or exploring, as he had also for extracting strange pagan tales from unsophisticated peasants. He tracked down and put an end to the local activities of a highly skilled forger of stone implements (once foreman excavator to Miln) who had done an immense trade, through agents all over Brittany, with English buyers. The forger had to quit the district, but not before he had made friends with an innocent school teacher, on holiday in Carnac from Vichy. It was not long afterwards that Vichy acquired that unenviable reputation for pseudo-French antiques, designed to deceive honest French people, to which it apparently clings to this day.

Le Rouzic's reports on his work have appeared in a series of brochures sold by him at the Museum, for his own support, and also published in the Proceedings of the Société Polymathique du Morbihan, at Vannes, and, occasionally, in Paris

specialist journals. He was joint author, with Marthe and Saint-Just Péquart of Nancy (visitors whom he had interested in the Carnac monuments), of a *Corpus des signes gravés des monuments mégalithiques du Morbihan*, for which he supplied the photographs, plans, and particulars, and his collaborators the somewhat fanciful tracings, and also the introductory chapter. This book was published in 1927, in Paris, at the expense of his collaborators, and copyrighted by them. Le Rouzic, however, had duplicate negatives of all his studies of these monuments, and they were long since sold to the Ministry of Fine Arts, where they are filed. He allowed me to make prints from still a third set of negatives, in 1930. The same collaborators financed the publication of important excavations, which they supported, and in which they personally took part in 1922. In 1930, with some assistance which I was able to obtain for him from the late Sir Robert Mond, le Rouzic published, at Vannes, his excavations in the Er-Lannic cromlechs, and illustrated seventy-seven of the characteristic offering-stands, recovered in fragments from them. In 1932 he published the records of the seven years of excavation in the *Tumulus du Mont St.-Michel*, in which he took so prominent a part from 1900 onwards. The Government leader of the excavations never published the official record, and after his death his manuscript could never be found: Le Rouzic's record is from his own field diary. The Paris journal, *l'Anthropologie*, published, in 1933 and 1934, a summary of his considered views on the Carnac monuments, entitled "Morphologie et Chronologie des Sépultures préhistoriques du Morbihan", and "Le Mobilier des Sépultures préhistoriques du Morbihan," which Dr. Capitau had persuaded him to formulate, against his own instinct.

In 1926 he began to suffer from diabetes and thereafter his intellectual and physical activities were greatly curtailed; and a collaboration, in the previous year, which was to be a complete record in English of his own work, lavishly

illustrated, had to be left entirely to me to carry out. When in 1929, with Sir Robert Mond's financial help, the scope of the book was enlarged to the dimensions of an encyclopædic record of the megalithic monuments and associated dwelling-sites of the southern Morbihan, including the excavations of all his predecessors, le Rouzic continued enthusiastically to pass on to me all new excavation-results as they accumulated. After I had spent five years in sifting all old and new evidence, more meticulously than he had ever had the leisure or opportunity to do, I came to differ from him about the dating of the monuments. This, however, did not prevent him from continuing to send me all the material he could till the year before his death; and I had intended to revisit Carnac and collect the last batch of results myself.

After Sir Robert Mond's death his executors felt unable voluntarily to honour his undertaking to finance this work to its conclusion. The work therefore remains unfinished, with no immediate prospect of publication. It was a bitter disappointment to le Rouzic that he could not hope to see in print this monumental record of the megalithic remains of Carnac and its neighbourhood.

Besides being a patient and honest seeker after truth, and the most generous of workers in making his own results available to other students, le Rouzic was one of the gentlest and most courteous of men—a great Breton gentleman and a loyal citizen of France of whom she may one day well be proud. It is such spirits as his, sprung from the soil, that placed Republican France in the van of true civilization. He said to me once: "Je suis Breton: je suis de la roche!" His daughter intended placing an unhewn granite monolith above his grave in the churchyard. He had pleaded to have his ashes cast on the waves, and his monument raised on some granite outcrop within sight and sound of the sea. Like it, his name and fame will endure in the new France that will yet arise.

**THE EGYPTIAN ORIGIN OF THE NEW YEAR'S SACRIFICE AT ZANZIBAR.** By G. A. Wainwright.

**192** In his article on *The People of Makunduchi, Zanzibar* (MAN, 1925, 86), Mr. Ingrams deals with the ceremonies peculiar to the

aborigines of the island. The fact, that they are carried out only by the aborigines and that the newer-comers have no part in them, shows that

they are ancient. Further, Mr. Ingrams shows that at least one of the ceremonies of these aborigines bears unmistakable signs of being of Greek origin. This is the one carried out to exorcise the foreign devil who arrived in a canoe bearing the un-African weapon—the trident. Mr. Ingrams well says that this can scarcely be other than the Greek Poseidon. His assumption is confirmed by the fact that Poseidon had been worshipped on the Abyssinian coast at some time before A.D. 522, in which year Cosmas Indicopleustes copied an inscription of an Axumite king at Adulis, a little south of Massawa in Eritrea. Among other things this king says that he 'offered sacrifice to Zeus, to Ares, and to Poseidon, whom I entreated to befriend all who go down to the sea in ships.'<sup>1</sup>

*Greek seaborne intercourse with East Africa.*—The Greek god must have reached Adulis and Zanzibar through some intermediary; the self-evident one being the Egypt of the Ptolemies, in which Greek influences were strong, and which was reaching out down the east African coast. Ptolemy II sent out Satyros and Eumedes,<sup>2</sup> the first of whom founded Philotera-Qosseir (Strabo, XVI, iv, §5); and the other Ptolemais Epitheras, probably near Suakin (Strabo, XVI, iv, §7). Ptolemy III went further south again, to Adulis a little south of the modern Massawa in Eritrea, and out beyond the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb as well. At Adulis he set up an inscription saying that he caught elephants like his father.<sup>3</sup> One of his chief huntsmen was Lichas, whom he sent in the early years of his reign.<sup>4</sup> Another was Pytholaos of whom we have evidence at the end of the reign.<sup>5</sup> Pythangelos is often mentioned under this king.<sup>6</sup> Ptolemy IV Philopator sent

out Lichas again,<sup>7</sup> and also Charimortos and his relief Alexander.<sup>8</sup> Leon was also probably sent out by him.<sup>9</sup> Charimortos was at work again under Ptolemy V Epiphanes.<sup>10</sup> Fortunately we are able to trace these men's activities, and so we know that they took them right out as far as Cape Guardafui, the Horn of Africa. Pytholaos left his name on the coast outside the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb (Strabo, XVI, iv, §14). In the same reign Pythangelos organized two hunting-grounds in the same district, one nearly as far as the Straits (Strabo, XVI, iv, §14) and the other outside them (Strabo, XVI, iv, §§14, 15). Besides Pytholaos and Pythangelos, Lichas, Leon, and Charimortos all left their names along the coast as far as Notu-ceras, Cape Guardafui.<sup>11</sup> Ptolemy II reigned from 283–245 B.C., and Alexander's inscription can be dated from internal evidence to 208–206 B.C.,<sup>12</sup> and Ptolemy V Epiphanes reigned 203–181 B.C. Thus, Ptolemaic influence was stretching towards Cape Guardafui during much of the third century B.C. A hundred years later this influence had reached right down to Zanzibar, for Mr. Ingrams points out that a coin of Ptolemy X Soter, 115–80 B.C., has actually been found at Msasani on the mainland, a little north of Dar-es-Salaam.

Trade actually reached much further south than this, for a Jewish copper coin of the almost contemporary, but somewhat earlier, Simon Maccabæus, 143–136 B.C., has been dug up at Marianhill behind the harbour of Durban in Natal, and so not very far comparatively from the southern extremity of Africa. The coin had been very little used, and stone implements were found in the same stratum (Otto and Stratmann, *Anthropos*, IV (1909), pp. 168, 169).

This long-continued and steady advance southwards formed the introduction to a regular trade between Egypt and the ports up and down the east African coast, reaching as far south as Rhapta and Menuthias. These two places have

<sup>1</sup> J. W. McCrindle, *The Christian Topography of Cosmas, an Egyptian Monk*, London, Hakluyt Society, 1897, p. 66. The date is worked out on p. x of the introduction.

<sup>2</sup> M. Rostovtzeff, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, IV (1908), p. 303.

<sup>3</sup> The inscription itself has not yet been recovered, but is known to us from a copy made in the year A.D. 522 by Cosmas Indicopleustes, J. W. McCrindle, *l.c.*, pp. 57, 58.

<sup>4</sup> Rostovtzeff, *l.c.* p. 302.

<sup>5</sup> E. R. Bevan, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 176.

<sup>6</sup> Rostovtzeff, *l.c.*, p. 302.

<sup>7</sup> *Id.*, *l.c.* p. 303.

<sup>8</sup> H. R. Hall, *Classical Review*, xii (1898), pp. 275, 276, 280.

<sup>9</sup> Rostovtzeff, *l.c.*, p. 303.

<sup>10</sup> *Id.*, *l.c.*, p. 303.

<sup>11</sup> Strabo, XVI, iv, §15, Deire being at the Straits themselves, cf. §4.

<sup>12</sup> Hall, *l.c.*, p. 275.

not yet been absolutely identified, but are clearly in the neighbourhood of Zanzibar, and of Msasani where the Ptolemaic coin was found. The imports and exports of every place, and the sailing directions for getting to each of them are given in the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*. This handbook was written about the year A.D. 60.<sup>13</sup> It is clear, therefore, that Ptolemaic Egypt, and the succeeding Roman Egypt, had much effect on the East African natives.

*The New Year Festival at Makunduchi.*—After this introductory matter we come to the other custom which is peculiar to the aborigines still living at Makunduchi, and it, like the previous one, can be shown to have originated in Egypt. This second custom is that at the New Year festival which is called *Naoruz* or *Siku ya Mwaka*, 'they build a small hut or banda of dried coconut leaves and put two people inside. They then set fire to the hut and throw stones into the flames. The two men are supposed to remain inside but in reality escape unseen through the back of the hut.'<sup>14</sup>

While the simulated sacrifice of a human victim by fire is a widespread custom, that of a pair of victims is very rare, and the quite unnecessary burning down of the house to accomplish it is by no means common. However, as in the case of the trident-bearing, foreign sea-devil, the Egypt of Greek times provides the prototype of both these peculiarities. In telling the story of the legendary Sesostrius, Herodotus (II, 107), says that on his return to Egypt from his victorious campaigns "his brother, to whom he had given Egypt in charge, invited him and his sons to a banquet and then piled wood round the house and set it on fire. When Sesostrius was aware of this, he took counsel at once with his wife, whom (it was said) he was bringing with him; and she counselled him to lay two of his six sons on the fire and to make a bridge over the burning whereby they might pass over the bodies of the two and escape. This Sesostrius did; two of his sons were thus burnt, but the rest were saved alive with their father."

The Sesostrius story records the existence in ancient Egypt of the widespread custom of

fertility-sacrifice.<sup>15</sup> Ramesses II, who is here represented by Sesostrius, emphasized the fertility side of the Pharaoh's duties.<sup>16</sup> The attempt on him took place after nine victorious years, when he was summoned by the priest 'who was appointed over the sacrifices of Egypt'; his guards made little or no attempt to save him; the attempt was made by his brother, the would-be successor to the throne; the death was by fire, as so often in these cases; finally, though Sesostrius took his kingdom again there is no mention of vengeance on the brother or on the 'negligent' guards. Sesostrius thus escaped the common fate of fertility-kings, not by the death of the usual single substitute, but by the death of two. Though not an annual New Year ceremony, this very evident fertility-sacrifice corresponds with the human sacrifices, presumably annual, which, as Manetho says, were carried out in Egypt "in the Dog-days," i.e., at the Rising of Sirius, or in other words at the Egyptian New Year, and were perpetuated in modern Egypt at the festival of the *Naurûz*, equally the New Year.<sup>17</sup> Manetho also tells us that at these New Year sacrifices the Egyptians "used to burn living men to ashes,"<sup>18</sup> and in modern Egypt a fire was lighted round the mock king, Abu *Naurûz*, 'The Father of the New Year,' out of which he was allowed to escape.<sup>19</sup>

Here, then, in the story of Sesostrius we have both of the strange details which characterize the Zanzibari custom of to-day; the two victims, and the burning down of the house.<sup>20</sup> Herodotus

<sup>15</sup> Wainwright, *The Sky-Religion in Egypt*, pp. 47-51.

<sup>16</sup> Wainwright, *l.c.*, pp. 14-17, 19, 62, 72, 75.

<sup>17</sup> Wainwright, *l.c.*, pp. 59, 60.

<sup>18</sup> Quoted by Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, §73.

<sup>19</sup> Wainwright, *l.c.*, pp. 53, 59, 60. The past tense has to be used for the Abu *Naurûz*, as the ceremony has not been recorded for the last couple of generations or so. For a discussion of the Egyptian evidence, see Wainwright, *l.c.*, pp. 47-50, 59, 60, and Pl. II.

<sup>20</sup> The only other instances of the burning down of the house that I have yet been able to find come from Sweden and Greece. In Sweden, as the result of a famine which was ascribed to a lack of sacrifices by the king, the people 'surrounded his house, and burnt him in it, giving him to Odin as a sacrifice for good crops,' S. Laing, *The Heimskringla* (London, 1889), I, p. 323. At Delphi in Greece a hut imitating a royal palace was set up over the threshing floor every nine years. It

<sup>13</sup> W. H. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, p. 15.

<sup>14</sup> Ingrams, *l.c.*, p. 141.

[Footnote continued on next page]

shows us the origin of the modern African custom in ancient Egypt, and until recently modern Egypt has provided a parallel to it. In modern Egypt the sacrifice took place, like the Zanzibari one, at the Naurûz or New Year, and also the same amelioration had been adopted, for in both cases the victims were allowed to escape out of the fire.

Herodotus' story of the escape of the Pharaoh of legend<sup>21</sup> leads to an explanation of the sacrifice of a pair of victims instead of the usual single one. It is no doubt the result of the dual character of the Pharaoh as King of the 'Two Lands,' as Egypt was often called. One substitute would have been required for him in his capacity as King of Upper Egypt and the other for him as King of Lower Egypt. But with the passing of the Pharaohs long ago, the survival of the sacrifice in modern Egypt had relapsed into the form usual in the rest of the world, and demanded only a single victim, the Abu Naurûz of whom we have spoken.

Diodorus (I, 57) says nothing about the death of the two sons, but only tells of the escape of the king, Sesoosis as he calls him. He, however, calls the 'house' a 'tent,' and says that the fire was kindled with 'reeds' instead of Herodotus' 'wood.' Probably, therefore, the event took place in an *eshah*, such as may be seen in the fields all over Egypt to-day. They are temporary residences lightly made of dry maize-stalks, or no doubt reeds if they are handy, and would burn furiously if set alight. Such a construction would be very like the 'small

'hut or banda of dried coconut leaves' which the aborigines of Makunduchi make for the ceremony to-day.

Thus, the conservatism of Africa has preserved for us in full detail ancient characteristics which have been lost in modern Egypt. It enables us to see with our own eyes the simulated sacrifice of the substitutes for the Pharaoh in his double character, though probably the victims to-day have no idea of the reason why there should be two of them, or of the majestic figure whom they impersonate.

It would be interesting to know whether the two mock victims have any insignia, and whether, like Abu Naurûz, they leave them behind to be burned when they escape out of the fire.

I have treated the Egyptian evidence in full detail in an article entitled *A Modern Survival of Two Strange Details in the Attempted Sacrifice of Sesostris*, which is about to appear in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*.

*Addenda.*—In the first century A.D. Greeks were actually settled on the island of Socotra, where there was a cosmopolitan trading community consisting of these people, Arabs, and Indians (Schoff, *l.c.*, p. 34, §30). For the identification of the place see p. 113, Dioscorida.

Yet another custom is reported from the neighbourhood of Zanzibar which can be traced to ancient Egypt. It is that, inland from Mafia Island on the Ulanga River, the Wandaba consider that it is good for a pregnant woman to eat hippopotamus meat (Hodgson, *J.R.A.I.*, lvi., p. 65). In Egypt the hippopotamus goddess, Ta-urt was goddess of pregnancy and childbirth (Murray and Seligman, *MAN*, 1911, 73). In modern Egypt native women still come to the Cairo Museum to rub her black basalt statue, of Twenty-Sixth Dynasty date (Pl. H., Fig. 2 of that article), and then rub themselves.

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contained a table of first-fruits. This was overturned and the hut set on fire by a boy, who fled, and returned in triumph as the New Year, Jane E. Harrison, *Themis*, pp. 426, 427.

<sup>21</sup> Sesostris, of course, was no historical king, but a legendary figure who accumulated to himself the memory of the historical deeds of many Pharaohs, including Darius the Persian.

**MODELLED POT-FRAGMENTS FROM JEBEL KOSSEIR, SYRIA.** *By Dr. C. W. McEwan. The Oriental Institute, Chicago. With a note by M. E. L. Mallowan. Illustrated.*

**193** These two sherds were purchased in Antioch-on-the-Orontes in July, 1938, and are now in the Museum of the Oriental Institute, Chicago.

The peasant from whom I obtained them assured me that they came from a site some 20 kms. distant in the Jebel Kosseir. Unfortunately I was unable personally to inspect the

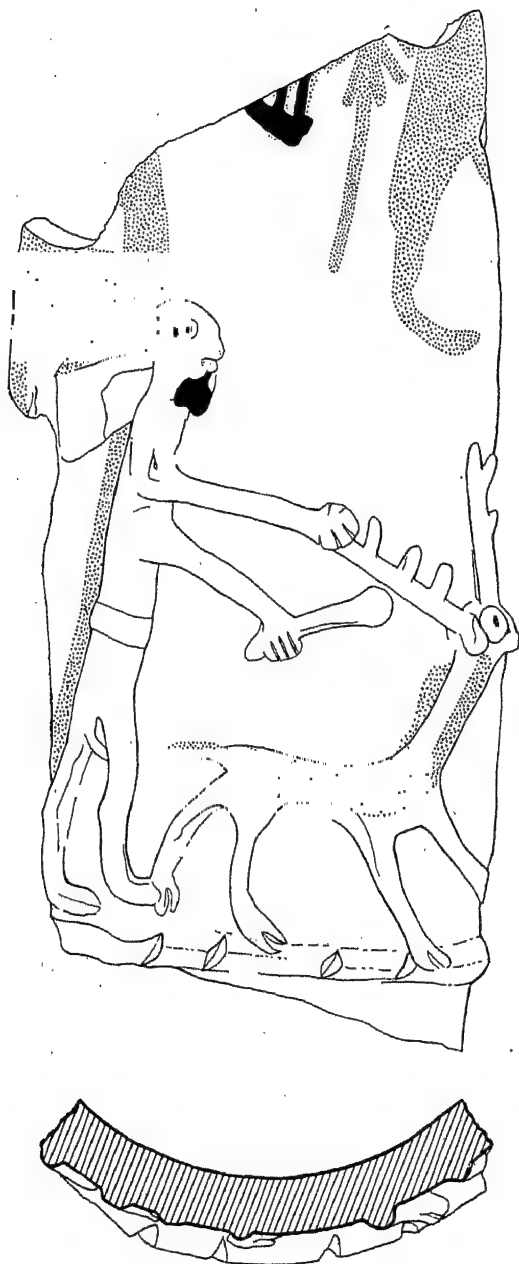


FIG. 1. MAN ATTACKING A STAG.

site, or even to determine its precise location. Fuller information could be obtained, I have no doubt, from Mr. Wm. Lytle, of the British R. P. Mission in Antioch.

The pottery is buff ware with a grey core, grit-tempered; it is wheel-made; the surface is wet-smoothed; it is decorated with applied

figures and painted in two shades of brown-red; the variation is probably due to the firing.

The two sherds are apparently non-contiguous fragments of a cylindrical vessel with finger-poked apertures, perhaps a brazier.

The nearest parallels, it seems, to this decoration-technique come from Hittite Anatolia (see H. H. von der Osten, *The Alishar Hüyük, Seasons of 1930-32, Part II* [Or. Inst. Publ. XXIX] (Chicago, 1937), pp. 111ff.), and, so far as I know, nothing similar has been found in Syria.



FIG. 2. BOY RIDING ON A GOAT.



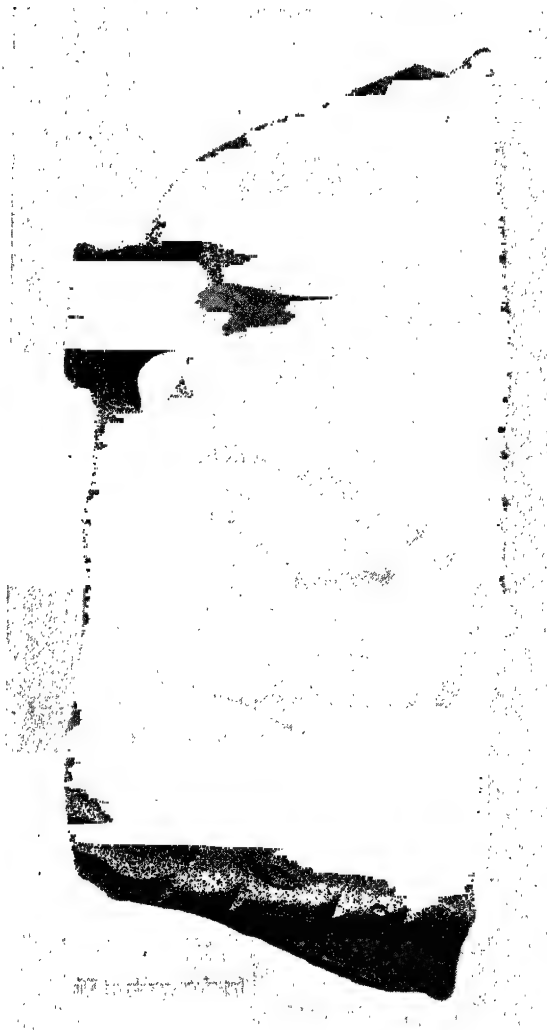


FIG. 3. PHOTOGRAPH OF FIG. 1.

**NOTE ON MODELLED POT-FRAGMENTS FROM JEBEL KOSSEIR.** *By M. E. L. Mallowan.*

**194** As the vase appears from the photographs to have been wheel-made—and on account of its provenance and shape—it might have been a brazier or a drum. I am inclined to the opinion that it dates approximately from the period 2500-2000 B.C. There is a set of illustrations of pots with stags in relief in M. Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, I., pl. clxxv. The subject seems to be a genre scene representing animals led to sacrifice, as on the standard from the Royal Cemetery of Ur. The boy in Fig. 2 rides

the goat from behind exactly in the manner of the North Syrian peasant to-day. The appliqué eye of the stag and the roughly modelled head of the man are typically Syrian. The combination of relief and painting cannot be paralleled in Syria so far as I know. The nearest approach in technique occurs in the great tomb of Til-Barsib, ca. 2300 B.C. M. Claude Schaeffer, who has seen the photographs, refers to a sherd with a stag or hind in relief from

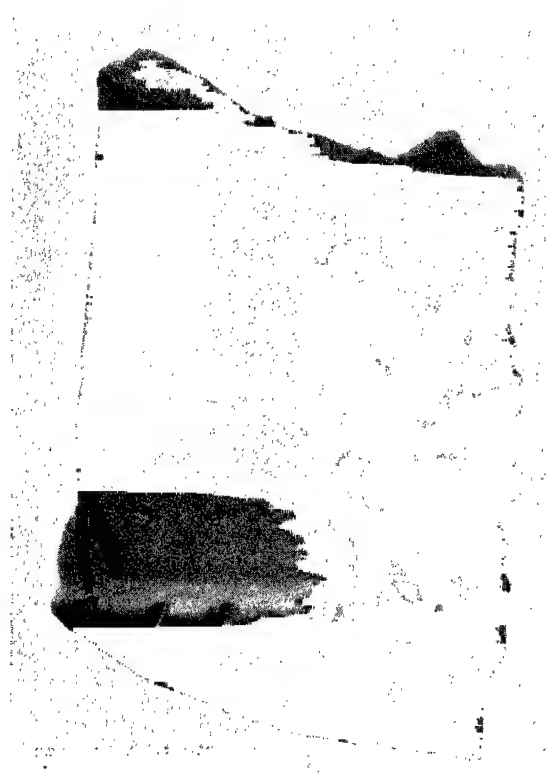


FIG. 4. PHOTOGRAPH OF FIG. 2.

Alaça Hüyük in Anatolia (R.O.Arik., *Alaca Hüyük*, Ankara, 1937, pl. clxiii).

**NOTE ON THREE CYPRIOTE JUGS IN THE BIBLICAL MUSEUM, MELBOURNE.** *By John L. Myres, F.B.A., D.Litt., D.Sc., New College, Oxford.*

**195** Pending further comment by Mr. James Stewart, the following notes may help readers to appreciate the artistic interest of these jugs.

The type and fabric to which they belong are well-marked, and fairly well represented in

museums; but the finest specimens have never been found in any quantity in scientific excavations. The style of the painted decoration is singularly uniform. Inheritance from more ancient representations of birds and horned animals, as far back as the Syrian schools of the xv-xiv century—which also are represented in Cyprus—is obvious, and a few more ambitious scenes—the chariot and warrior on a krater from Tamassos (*Brit. Mus., Cat. of Vases* I. 2, c. 736, pl. vi) and the fight between man and bull on a jug from Cesnola's collection (Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford: Myres, *Essays in Aegean Archaeology* (ed. S. Carson), Oxford, 1927, pp. 72-89, pl. xiii-xiv)—may be earlier than the majority of the 'bird-jugs'; but the masterpieces in the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New York (Myres, *Hdbk. to Cesnola Collection*, N.Y. 1914, Nos. 751, tree with human vases, 752 tree with birds) and the Ashmolean barrel-jug with birds and deer attendant on a 'sacred tree' (P. Gardner, *Ashmolean Vases*, Oxford, 1893, No. 1) are in the same culminating phase of the style as the best of the 'bird-jugs.' At the lower limit, a very few degenerate birds such as that in the Pitt Rivers Museum (Myres, *Essays in Aegean Archaeology*, pl. xiii, 10) lead on to the small diagrammatic 'bird-and-tree' jugs (*Brit. Mus. Excavations in Cyprus*, 1899, fig. 156, 2, 11; *Cat. Vases*, c. 822-4, 827-32; *Hdbk. Cesn. Coll.*, Nos. 736-8); though until there is better evidence from excavation, it cannot be certain that these

are not the contemporary 'poor cousins' of the masterpieces. A few special points are illustrated by the Melbourne jugs. The loose baggy profiles of Nos. 1 and 2 are characteristic; No. 3 is influenced by contemporary oenochorae which have a longer history both backwards and forwards. The bulging neck of No. 2 is in the same tensile technique as its body: one might suspect askoid influences, in a culture where leather-work played so large a part in domestic economy. The single lotus of No. 1, with its 'lateral excrescences' is also characteristic (as in *Hdbk. Cesn. Coll.* 751, 752) alongside the more Egyptian-looking lotus-blossoms and lotus-buds of No. 3; but the coarsely painted three-petal centrepiece on No. 3 is an early example of a design which persists in isolation, or in threes around the jug, until the fifth century, on small jugs of somewhat similar form.

For the panel-painting of the animal's neck on No. 2 compare the horse's neck on *Hdbk.* 768. The double-outline, like that of the birds' wings and lotus-petals on Nos. 1 and 3, is one of the numerous echoes of that Oriental school of 'appliqué' embroidery which had its magnificent focus in Assyria, and a famous local school in Cyprus itself, illustrated by the large-scale terra-cotta figures with richly decorated clothing, from the Toumba site at Salamis (*Journ. Hellenic Studies*, xii, 1891, pl. ix-x; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Terra-cottas*, A. 106-122.)

## REVIEWS

### SOCIOLOGY.

**Experiments in Civilization: the Effects of European Culture on a Native Community of the Solomon Islands.** By H. Ian Hogbin. London: (Routledge) 1939. xvii + 268 pp., 24 plates, 2 maps. Price 15s. net.

Dr. Hogbin has achieved a *tour de force*. His book can be read in a week-end; but it covers a range of observation and analysis that would have served other writers for two fat volumes. It is a model of lucidity and economy, free both of literary flourishes and of irrelevant professional jargon, and straight to the point.

The Solomon Islands were discovered in the sixteenth century. But it was not till the middle of last century that traders, 'blackbirders,' and missionaries first brought the natives into active contact with western civilization. It was not a creditable beginning. As Dr. Hogbin's pithy *Introduction* shows. What is more, his area of field-work for this study, has only recently come under the effective influence of administration, commerce, and missions, and this mainly on the coast. In the interior, the ancient culture still prevails. Thus Dr. Hogbin writes his first section, *The Past*, not from informants' reminiscences but from his own direct

observation. Part 2 describes *The Present*, the new ways of living and thinking due to culture contact in the areas where social change has made some headway; and Part 3 boldly outlines a programme of administrative, economic and educational policy based on the foregoing inquiry. Dr. Hogbin's book is, in fact, a study of differential social change, by the comparative method. Working in an area where the factors of change are relatively few and precise, and where their effects have not yet established a deep gulf between the 'old' and the 'new,' Dr. Hogbin has succeeded in laying bare the movement of social change itself, in some of its aspects.

Dr. Hogbin's book has one quality which only a mature, expert, and widely read field-worker could impress on such a work. Every observation is not only telling in itself, but indicates the solid foundation of omitted detail on which the argument is built. This is particularly evident in the description of the native culture. The account of how political leadership is gained by 'private enterprise,' but functions in the interest of the group, is penetrating and stimulating. Elsewhere Dr. Hogbin occasionally does his material less

than justice by keeping too closely to accepted theories, as for instance in the chapter on religion.

Part 2 begins with a chapter on Depopulation in which Dr. Hogbin has surely given the death blow to mystical, pseudo-psychological explanations of this fact. There are definite objective causes such as disease, diet, and inadequate medical care, as he shows convincingly. This uncompromising emphasis on the objective and rational explanation of things distinguishes the whole of Part 2. It is most effective in what are, in this reviewer's opinion, the outstanding chapters of the book, those on the development of Christian communities on the Island. Dr. Hogbin's analysis of how a Christian church takes root in a native society, borrowing unconsciously from native religious ideas and values it sets out to destroy, and accepting inevitably native elements of social organization, which its first converts were taught to despise, is brilliant. By showing, also, how mission schools, churches, and doctrines act directly and often destructively on the native social structure and on native morality Dr. Hogbin displays for examination the very process of social change. The other chapters in this Part record facts such as are already familiar to students of economic and administrative contact with primitive peoples.

Finally, Dr. Hogbin—some might think rashly—puts forward his ideas for a policy which, if it were adopted in time, might save Malaita from the unhappy fate which has overtaken other native societies in the Pacific. He favours an administrative policy modelled on the system of Indirect Rule, and educational and economic measures building from the native culture upwards.

M. FORTES.

**Handbuch der Methode der Kulturhistorischen Ethnologie.** By Wilhelm Schmidt. Munster, 1937. 338 pages.

The followers of diffusionism will certainly welcome a restatement of Graebner's *Methode der Ethnologie*, 1911. Father Schmidt, in a short preface, justifies his new presentation of this well-known method by the progress which ethnology has made during the twenty-six years which have elapsed since Graebner's *Methode* was published. He feels also that a clearer and more lucid exposition of the method was necessary, because Graebner's highly condensed treatise was difficult to understand even for the German reader. Father Schmidt's natural reluctance to publish his work until death ended the long period of inactivity which marked Graebner's last years, postponed publication. Father W. Koppers co-operated, and Father Schmidt acknowledges to him the whole of the second chapter and a portion of the first, and states that the whole text of the manuscript was discussed with him. "*L'Etude comparée des Religions*," by H. Pinard de la Boulaye, and G. van Bulek's "*Beiträge zur Methodik der Völkerkunde*" have been freely drawn upon.

Father Schmidt has achieved his aim by presenting a clear and comprehensible account of the method. He has amplified and interpreted Graebner, and in a number of places he has found it necessary to correct him. After dealing with the sources of ethnology and their methodic treatment, he takes the reader through the complex system of the different criteria to the *Kulturkreise* and *Kulturschichten* and shows how to determine *innere Kulturentwicklung* and *kulturelle Urschlichkeiten*. The last portion of the book concerns the method of ethnology in relation to its subsidiary sciences.

It is not my task to criticise the *kulturhistorische Methode*. Father Schmidt has devoted his first chapter to the origin and expansion of the method, in which he

deals comprehensively with the opponents of diffusionism. Apart from its pragmatic character, the book is largely a defence of the theory and its methods. Many readers will feel some regret that Father Schmidt has not fixed more rigidly the exact meaning of certain of the terms he uses. There is, for example, the important and often discussed question of the attitude of the *kulturhistorischen* school towards evolution. Father Schmidt's statement that *evolutionismus* is unacceptable but "evolution, the inner development" (*Evolution, die innere Entwicklung*) is embraced by the theory, is unsatisfactory unless he explains precisely what he means by *innere Entwicklung*, and this explanation I have not found in his book. This is not the only term that might have been better defined.

While the book is of the greatest value and interest to supporters of the diffusionist theory, it will not unduly perturb those who hold opposing views, nor deter them from continuing their criticism. GULLA PFEFFER.

**Land, Labour, and Diet in Northern Rhodesia: An Economic Study of the Bemba Tribe.** By Audrey I. Richards. Oxford University Press for the International Institute of African Languages and Culture) 1939. xiv + 415 pp. Price 30s.

This new book of Dr. Richards, although described as a 'nutritional study', is nevertheless a work of anthropology. The problems of land, labour, and diet are not examined in isolation, but in their context, and in a way that gives the reader a picture of Bemba society as a whole. Thus nutrition is traced right back from the selection of the land, through the various stages of the preparation of the site by the *icitemene* method, to the cultivation of the crops and their sequence.

Dr. Richards distinguishes this sequence of crops from a fixed rotation where the sequence is repeated and based on scientific principles. The native, she points out, rotates his crops for other reasons than considerations of fertility. This does not, however, invalidate the principle of growing one crop after another as opposed to monoculture, and we have no grounds for saying that a fixed rotation would raise the standard of fertility.

In a chapter on 'Land Tenure' Dr. Richards has elucidated the not uncommon acceptance of the chief as owner of the land, labour, and produce. The system is not so feudalistic as it might appear, nor is it so haphazard or unsatisfactory to the native. The introduction of the more formalized relation of landlord and tenant, and of rent, has in some places tended to jeopardize that all-important feeling of security which it is supposed to strengthen.

The student of agricultural technology will be interested to read of the ecological system by means of which the Bemba select their soils for cultivation, although it appears that, for the production of ash, the actual density of trees is of greater consequence than the species. Soil-classification is, however, not limited to this method, but partly depends on such characters as colour and texture; but the system, Dr. Richards explains, is not infallible, and the native often resorts to the method of trial and error. This remark might, however, apply to any system of soil-classification.

There is, however, no doubt that the standard of Bemba agriculture is low, and that the native makes little effort towards improvement, in spite of lack of food. He has learned to adjust himself to his circumstances and accepts it as part of his lot. Dr. Richards points out this interesting psychological aspect of the nutritional problem, and her findings are interesting to compare with those of Brayne in his study of the Village. There seems to be something of the same attitude of

fatalism and apathy, although in the Bemba this may be more inherent than environmental; but this is a complex question.

The book is a scientific study and a contribution to anthropology, but is nevertheless of wide interest to the general reader. G. P. L. MILES.

**Gypsies, their Life and their Customs.** By Martin Block. Translated by Barbara Kuczynsky and Duncan Taylor. London: Methuen, 1938. Price 12s. 6d.

This is a translation from the *Zigeuner* of Dr. Martin Block, and it is sure of a warm welcome from everyone interested in these enigmatical people. Dr. Block has a wide sympathy, and ignores the superficial unpleasantnesses which are incidental to association with a gypsy company, and deter the inquisitive; but he gives us no sentimental idealization, and lets us see the seamy as well as the colourful side of the texture of their life, and the difference between the real gypsy and the wild free nomad of literary imaginations. Thus he inspires a confidence which he never betrays.

The first six chapters tell us of Gypsies and their ways; of their aspect in the unsympathetic eye, as strangers impossible of assimilation; and of their immigration into Europe, so far as it can be reconstructed from the fragmentary documents. An attempt, based admittedly upon inadequate data, is made to estimate their numbers. Their origin is left as mysterious as ever: no doubt they came from somewhere in India—their language is enough to demonstrate that—but it has hitherto proved impossible to limit research within narrower boundaries.

The remainder of the book contains individual details of social life, all based on first-hand scrutiny (the number of quotations from other authors is infinitesimal) and illustrated with admirable photographs, which cannot have been very easily obtained. The chapter on 'Means of Livelihood' contains a well-deserved encomium on the Gypsy's skill as a metal-worker; also all that most of us need to know of his expertness in the shadier paths of horse-coping and of the Oriental cunning of his womenkind in fortune-telling. A chapter of very special interest is devoted to their means of spreading news by secret couriers and by "free-masonish" marks left by the roadsides—feathers, broken twigs, and other insignificant trifles, such as the 'gentile' wayfarer would scarcely ever notice, much less comprehend. In the chapter on Music it is sad to read the (carefully restrained) remarks on the contamination of their traditions by modern commercial exploitation—a fact corroborated by Dr. Walter Starkie's books, which our author quotes with fitting appreciation. It is indeed only too evident everywhere that traditional folk-music has to be artificially tended (thus ceasing, *ipso facto*, to be traditional folk-music) to prevent it from being drowned altogether in floods of jazz and other pseudo-musical beastlinesses.

There is not a book in which a determined reviewer could not find holes to pick. But the present reviewer has derived so much pleasure from its perusal that he would not dream of such ingratitude. He will only regret the absence of an index. R. A. S. M.

**Social and Economic Organization of the Rowanduz Kurds.** By E. R. Leach. London School of Economics and Political Science, Monograph of Social Anthropology 3. Lund Humphries & Co., Ltd. 67 pp., 16 plates, 2 text figs., 3 maps. Price 5s.

The most striking feature of this well-written survey is that, though the Kurds are a very old-established race, and have always strenuously resisted absorption by their neighbours, there seems to be almost nothing, apart from their Aryan language, which differentiates them from the Arabs, not merely of Iraq, but of Syria and Palestine. Resemblances extend from general organization to the smallest details of social and domestic life. The only important difference seems to be in land tenure; among the Kurds the Agha is the nominal owner of all the land of the village, while among the Arabs the sheikh is usually the largest among a number of shareholders.

The author points out how, here as elsewhere, the support given by the British Government to the chiefs gave them a tyrannical authority quite foreign to the ordinary tribal system of government, and how the payment of subsidies led them to adopt a more expensive style of living, often followed by bankruptcy when the subsidies were withdrawn.

The author tells us (p. 9) that Kurdish society is undergoing extremely rapid social change. We may conclude that whatever the book loses, for this reason, in practical utility, it will regain in historical value.

There are some good maps and photographs, and appendices on kinship terms and on the Kurdish loom. RAGLAN.

**Taboo.** By A. R. Radcliffe-Brown. (The Frazer Lecture, 1939).

Professor Radcliffe-Brown discusses briefly and clearly the facts and theories which we are accustomed to associate with the word 'taboo.' He considers it has been used so loosely that it no longer has any scientific value, and proposes to substitute for it the term 'ritual value.' He mentions the theory that magic and religion give confidence, and says that it could equally well be argued that they give men fear from which they would otherwise be free.

He suggests that 'the rites of savages exist, and persist, because they are part of the mechanism by which an orderly society maintains itself in existence.' Might it not be argued that such rites as those associated with witchcraft and head-hunting have prevented savages from developing orderly societies? RAGLAN.

## PSYCHOLOGY.

**Sex, Custom and Psychopathology, A Study of South African Pagan Natives.** By B. T. F. Larbischer. London (Routledge), 1937. xv + 347 pp., 17 illustrations.

The relationship between psychopathology and anthropology has always been an intimate one, although its terms were rather vague and often a little suspect. Psychopathologists and anthropologists are fond of making excursions into each other's territory, mainly in order to discover material that would be useful for the solutions of their own problems. The dubious legitimacy of this scientific trespass was upheld by that

persuasive identification of the 'archaic' mind, which was said to be typical of primitive civilizations, with the regressive, pathological, mental types of our own civilization. It was no doubt also due to this identification with this theory that psychiatrists and anthropologists have so long overlooked the scientific value of studying the psychopathology of 'primitive' groups in their own rights. The present book has most ably filled this gap in our knowledge of African peoples. It presents us with the study of the psychopathology of a South Eastern Cape Bantu group, the Tembu, set against the background of its general—'normal'—culture, studied

in its proper habitat. The psychiatric qualifications of Dr. Laubscher, who is the Senior Psychiatrist of the Union Mental Service, need no special mention. His excellent description of the cultural life of the Tembu shows that his anthropological knowledge is no less sound. The external arrangement of the book already betrays the methodological clarity of the investigation. The first nine chapters are devoted to anthropology, to descriptions of the folklore, the religious beliefs, adolescence and in marriage, and family system. The last seven chapters deal, in a model fashion, with the clinical material. A chapter on the *Native Conception of Mental Disorder* provides a fitting transition. An Appendix, finally, gives 78 clinical case-studies of varying length and thoroughness. Paranoid Schizophrenia is found to represent the predominant type of mental disorder among these people, as apparently among Africans in general. A detailed analysis of the clinical picture of paranoid schizophrenia, and the careful distinction of schizophrenia from the clinically often similar psychoneuroses (pp. 227 ff.), is of considerable significance. For while (in the author's view) "the psychoneuroses may be pre-dominant in the psychoneuroses, biological factors are the main considerations in the psychoses" (p. 239). This is, indeed, the crucial problem of the book: the discovery and definition of the causal links between ('normal') social and cultural life, and the forms of mental abnormality most common in the society or even typical of it. We discover three such links. First, certain common elements in the spiritual culture of the group contribute in making up the psychopathological symptoms, furnishing the contents of delusions, such as fear of spirits or witches. Secondly, the social system as such, with its restrictions and repressions, may appear as a potential cause of mental disorders, specially in the case of psychoneuroses. Finally, the social system appears organized so that it admits of an easy adaptation and adjustment to pathological types. Then the author shows that psychotic individuals find a congenial sphere of activity in the institution of 'witch-doctors' (p. 226). In other cases, however, such an easy adaptation proves impossible; in the case of mental deficiency or schizophrenia, for example, the pathological individual does not find a proper place in society, and his exclusion from it is marked by the fact that he is not circumcised and does not undergo the tribal initiation rites (p. 139). The actual mental mechanism which transforms, directly or indirectly, social influences into psychopathological disorders is interpreted on strictly Freudian lines, in terms of regression and fixation of the libido. Speaking as a sociologist, this interpretation appears slightly circuitous, and on the whole less convincing than the rest of this excellent book.

In conclusion, one rather puzzling question of great interest to psychologist and sociologist alike: if it is true that beliefs and concepts which are 'normal' and rational in a particular primitive culture, e.g., belief in spirits and witches, can appear as the delusional contents of pathological cases, one wonders whether this must not be a difference in our own civilization, both in the psychopathological symptoms themselves and in their diagnosis. For in our own civilization delusional 'abnormal' thinking is diagnosed as such,

largely because of its irrationality, i.e., because it is in conflict with commonly accepted beliefs and concepts. Dr. Laubscher has given much thought to this problem, but he has not, I fear, mastered it.

Its methodological and epistemological implications. In appeal to the classical tenet of the 'archaic mind':— "The pagan schizophrenic patient in his regression keeps on the whole within the fold of his cultural belief . . . because the archaic and magical forms of thought are as much part of his normal state as they are of the psychotic state. Hence the great difficulty for the normal pagan native to discriminate between the rational and irrational" (pp. 236-37). Neither premiss nor conclusion in this statement will stand serious criticism. S. F. NADEL.

**Secrets of the Mind.** By C. E. Wager. London (Watts & Co.) 1940. Svo. vi + 160 pp. Price 5s.

**203** This is a concise outline of Freud's theory of psycho-analysis in which technical jargon is as far as possible replaced by popular speech, but the basis in scientific observation is illustrated throughout by familiar instances. Beginning with the instinctive reactions of animals, and the pre-natal and infantile experiences of ourselves, the notion of a 'complex' is described, their Freudian nick-names are explained, and the relation of Freud's work and ideas to those of Jung (p. 35). The same treatment is applied to psychological 'repression' and 'resistance,' the relation between feelings and thoughts, and the source of that strange capacity for apprehending 'values' which means so much in our lives. What is popularly called 'spirit' is defined (p. 47) as "man's capacity for accepting the whole of life and for finding in it the utmost possible values, in every growing 'adulthood'; 'flesh,' on the other hand, is 'the tendency to repress in all things to the infantile stage.' Fear and its more complex manifestations, and the 'psychological short cuts' which are perilously employed to allay them, and positive 'motives' are treated with sympathetic insight, and appeal to common experience; and the perplexing incursions of the 'unconscious' part of our being into our 'conscious' and more or less rational life. There are some sensible observations on dreams, marriage-problems and the adjustment of personalities to habitual companionship, and the bearing of modern psychological thought on religious experience and practices. Mr. Wager is an optimist: "psychology is based on the observance of facts, for it is scientific in outlook. But it also believes, because of its observations, that human nature is capable of far more adequate and happy functioning than is seen at present in the majority of human beings." And his 'faith,' as he frankly calls it, that both 'religion and 'psychology' deal so largely with the same subject, human conduct and human motives, enables him to offer sound advice and encouragement, and to present intelligibly the practice of psychology by persons of the same outlook and experience. A final chapter, written under recent war-conditions discusses some corollaries about 'mob-psychology' and 'infantile megalomania': psychology has its political as well as its moral applications." J. L. M.

#### PREHISTORIC ARCHÆOLOGY.

**Contributions to the Geography of Egypt.** By John Ball. Cairo: Government Press, 1939. 302 pp., plates, and text illustrations. Price 10s. 6d.

**204** Any contribution from Dr. J. Ball on the Geography of Egypt will be welcomed by all who are

interested in that country; for not only is he a recognized authority on his subject, but the problems with which he deals are fundamental to the understanding of the physical geography of Egypt, and of its archæology, history and economics as well.



This book is the first fruits of Dr. Ball's leisure on retirement from his position as Director of the Desert Survey, and as compensation for the arid wastes he has traversed for so many years, it deals mainly with the waters of Egypt; half the book being devoted to a consideration of the Nile and the other half to the Birket el Qarun and its history.

After a brief general view of the country a chapter is wisely devoted to an outline of the geology with special reference to changes in sea level. A useful series of sketch-maps shows the probable coastline from Eocene to late Palaeolithic times, and special stress is laid on the Pleistocene and recent deposits.

The next chapter is devoted to an examination of the Nile terraces, based mainly on Drs. Sandford and Arkell's work, with a broader discussion of Mediterranean levels and land-connections in past times.

Then follows a description of the modern river course and of the interesting hypothesis that formerly it was represented by two separate river systems.

Unfortunately vital data are here lacking, owing to the smallness of our knowledge of the Sudan section.

A description of the matter transported by the Nile in solution and suspension and an account of the alluvial deposits occupy the next three chapters.

The remainder of the book is devoted to the Fayum Depression and its lake, the Birket el Qarun.

Perhaps no other area of equal size has given rise to so much controversy and ink-spilling, as is witnessed by the length of the summary of the various theories held between 1809 and 1936.

After this summary Dr. Ball examines the evidence for the origin of the Fayum and the level of its lake from the early Palaeolithic down to the present day.

He agrees with the majority of investigators that the depression is wind-worn in origin, and dates from early Pleistocene times.

He follows Drs. Sandford and Arkell in their reconstruction of the Palaeolithic lake levels, and supports Miss Caton-Thompson and Miss E. W. Gardner in their claim for a substantial break between the Palaeolithic and Neolithic lakes and the cutting off of the Nile from the Neolithic lake at 18 metres. He accepts also their view that it subsequently fell in stages to 2 metres, and remained at that level till early Dynastic times.

From this stage, however, he joins issue with them and follows the Geological Survey in their belief in a high-level historic lake created by XII Dynasty kings by the artificial reconnection of the Nile, and the depression. This belief is based mainly on superficial excavations of the great bank—the Gissr el Hadid—in the western Fayum, in which rolled pebbles of pottery were discovered. These were visited by Dr. Ball on a single flying visit to the Fayum, but unfortunately he does not appear to have revisited the area later when many deep sections were cut in it by Miss Caton-Thompson, Miss Gardner and Dr. S. Huzzayin of the Egyptian University. Had he done so, or even read the results of that expedition published in the *Bulletin of the Institut d'Egypte*, Vol. 19 (1937), pp. 243-303, of which there is no sign in the present account, his conclusions might have been different, for he might have realized the dating impossibilities of the Geological Survey's theory.

The problems in the Fayum involving as they do consideration of so many lines of evidence—geological, geographical, geological and hydrographical—can hardly be settled by any one person, and certainly not by any one without an intimate and detailed knowledge of the terrain.

Therefore while it would be a profound relief to be able to approve this clever synthesis of opposing opinions as a final solution of the 'Moeris problem,' it cannot be considered as more than a useful summary of work published in widely scattered volumes and, at that, unfortunately not quite up to date. E. W. G.

**205** *More Rock Paintings in South Africa. With an introduction and descriptive notes by Dorothea F. Bleek. London: Methuen, 1940. Price 42s. net.*

Some years ago, under the financial auspices of the Carnegie Trusts, Miss Bleek prepared for press a corpus of copies of Bushman paintings which had been made in the latter half of last century by the late G. W. Stow. To that well known book the present work is in some degree complementary, as it deals with the rock-shelter paintings (and some engravings) in the southern districts of the Union not far from the coast—regions which were not visited by Stow.

The volume opens with an all too short introduction, which assumes some knowledge of South African prehistory. Miss Bleek defines the four main areas where rock drawings occur, and outlines briefly their chief characteristics. She gives a fuller description of Area I (with which the book is concerned) and its problems, and adds a few words about the last Bushmen who actually lived there. Then come the twenty-eight plates, mostly in colour, with full descriptions of the figures, and notes about the sites and how they may be reached. At one locality engravings are reproduced; the rest of the illustrations are of rock paintings.

Without doubt this book is a very valuable addition to the published work on South African rock-paintings; for while we have the Bleek-Stow corpus of copies and also Miss Tongue's, published in 1909, to illustrate the art of Area II (the more central parts of the Union) and the Obermaier-Kühn-Maack collection for Area III (South West Africa) and the expensive Frobenius publication of 1930 for Area IV (Rhodesia), we have had till now no published collection of drawings from Area I about which, indeed, little has been written at all. In *South Africa's Past in Stone and Paint* I did suggest that in general this southern rock shelter art, of which I had the opportunity to study a few examples, was the product of the Wilton culture, whereas the better-known Bushman art of the districts further north was more particularly the work of the Smithfield folk. With this conclusion Miss Bleek agrees. She suggests that the Wilton people must have left Rhodesia before the art had there reached its zenith, and made their way towards the coastal belt via such difficult regions for painting as 'the edges of the Kalahari,' and possibly having on the way some contact with the Smithfield people from whom they may have picked up some ideas such as that of the painting of buck in two colours.

There could have been no one better qualified than Miss Bleek to give us this book; and she and her helpers, principally the Misses Joyce and Mollie van der Riet of Grahamstown, who made most of the copies for her, are to be congratulated on the excellent work they have produced. The reproductions are admirable, and the descriptions very adequate indeed. These are in general arranged opposite the pictures to which they refer; where, however, there are two subjects on one page the upper description frequently refers to the lower illustration—a slightly awkward arrangement which the publishers might perhaps have avoided.

M. C. BURKITT.



## AFRICA.

**206** The Land Rights of Individuals among the Nyakyusa. By Godfrey Wilson. (*The Rhodes Livingstone Papers* No. 1.) Livingstone, N. Rhodesia (Oxford, Blackwell), 1938. 8v. 52 pp., map. Price 2s.

This short memoir inaugurates a welcome series published by the Rhodes Livingstone Institute and designed to increase the sum of exact information upon the sociology of Central Africa, at that most interesting 'of all historical periods, the present day.' The director of the Institute describes from close observation "the property in land which individual Africans possess to-day within a particular group in the south-west of Tanganyika." His previous paper on 'Nyakyusa Conventions of Burial' (*Bantu Studies*, March, 1939) prepares us for similar careful studies, confined in the present instalment to the land-rights of individuals only; the rights of the villages and chief forms of which they are members being reserved for subsequent treatment.

Till recently isolated and primitive, the Nyakyusa bring with them into the modern world a legal tradition based upon small social groups. Under modern conditions, 'this tradition is being inevitably modified both in theory and practice'; but they are protected against arbitrary legal changes by the system of indirect rule. 'I, therefore, find that sufficient land for all is a fact of Nyakyusa society.' But habitual movement from one village to another leads to constant transfer, and administrative difficulties, which are increased because the new cultivation of coffee trees require continuous tending. As it is the fear of witchcraft that instigates the migration of families and individuals, the interdependence of legal with other aspects of society is evident; and the comparative stability of Christian land occupants is an interesting corollary.

J. L. M.

**207** Missioni di Studio al Lago Tana. Vol. II. Ricerche geografiche ed economiche sulle popolazioni. By V. L. Grottanelli. Rome (R. Accademia d'Italia): 1939. 8vo. viii + 298 pp., map, 10 plates, and many illustrations.

This is the first volume of a series describing the ethnographical work of the Italian mission to the country round Lake Tana (Tsana) in Abyssinia, where the population is diverse, mainly Amharic, but with Musulman and other groups here and there, distinct in culture as well as in religion, as their houses and the forms of their villages show. Great attention is rightly paid to the geographical surroundings, and the material construction of the settlements, with their permanent or temporary huts, carefully planned and illustrated. Special attention is given to the churches and ecclesiastical dwellings, and to the shelters of transhumant pastorals, which show characteristic differences. Then comes the social and political grouping and organization, finance, administration of justice, slavery, and the like. An attempt is made, in the manner of Le Pluy, to estimate the production and consumption of an Amharic family throughout the year, and the extent of its dependence on monetary transactions. Similar observations on the Musulman communities follow; and on the Uito, Falascia, and Camanti, about whose origin little is known. The Falascia claim descent from King Solomon, and have been conjectured by Stern to be the relics of a Jewish immigration; but as Rathjens noted, they do not come into historical record till the tenth or eleventh century A.D. Their survival is in part due to the rivalries of their Amharic and Musulman neighbours. Finally, there are the trading centres which form distinct social units, with special organization and customs, and deal with a very large variety of commodities. An appendix gives census tables, and a full bibliography.

J. L. M.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

**208** The Meaning of the Cowrie. Cf. MAN, 1939, 165.

SIR,—A correspondence initiated by Dr. Murray in MAN, 1939, 165, on the meaning of the cowrie shell has elicited a number of interesting observations from other contributors, without, however, materially affecting the original issues. The points in dispute may be briefly stated. (1) Is the cowrie a female charm, the efficacy of which is based on the supposed likeness to the human vulva? (2) Alternatively, is it a specific against the Evil Eye rather than a charm conferring fertility on women? (3) If it is a specific against the Evil Eye, is its supposed efficacy not rather to be derived from a similarity to the eye than to the vulva? (4) Would not a reference to the vulva deprive the cowrie of its known monetary value?

Dr. Murray relies to a large extent on the ritual wearing of cowries by males and by male and gelded animals, and assumes from this that it cannot be taken as a representation of the vulva. Other correspondents make it abundantly clear that it is worn by both males and females. It is clear also that it may be worn to promote fertility among the living of both sexes; that in association with incense it confers "vitalizing power and ensures the continuance of deceased's existence" (T. Sheppard, MAN, 1939, 200); and that in a number of cases it is regarded as a specific against the Evil Eye.

The resemblance to a half-closed eye, the indentation of the mouth of the shell resembling the eye-lashes, as

Dr. Murray puts it, can only hold in a limited number of instances, since wherever the lashes are depilated such a supposed resemblance ceases to exist. It is legitimate to observe, moreover, that the human eye is not itself the cause of affliction, but the medium through which the conscious or unconscious power of the sorcerer is projected with evil effect: it is not the eye, but the power behind the eye, which is effective.

If, however, we accept the vulva hypothesis, it is not difficult to see why the cowrie may have a multiplicity of effects, both positive and prophylactic. I hesitate to use the term *mana*, since it is strictly of local application, and it will be safer, therefore, to speak of Energy or Power, regarded as a life-giving Force. This Force has a number of surrogates, not the least important being sex; and for a number of reasons, some of which are quite obvious, the female sex is regarded as a special repository of Power, and the vulva its particular manifestation. Cowrie, yoni, or the cowrie, the one artificial, the other natural, through their resemblance to the vulva, come to be taken as symbols of the life-giving Force. That is their ritual significance, the Force rather than the vulva, which, as I say, is only a surrogate of the Life-Force.

If this be granted—and the evidence appears to be overwhelming—the cowrie is effective in any life-giving capacity, whether it be fertility, spiritual immortality, or prophylaxis against the Evil Eye, and the occasions of its use are equally multifarious. As it represents Life-

Force as typified in the vulva, and not the vulva itself *qua* vulva, it may be worn by anyone and on any occasion, regardless of sex, on which an addition or a reserve of Life-Force is required. As Professor Hutton states (MAN, 1940, 102) the cowrie is "implicitly associated with fertility values" and in Assam its particular association with head-taking is vastly significant. It is noteworthy, moreover, that the cowrie is frequently to be found among the impedimenta of sorcerers, which proves that it should not be regarded as a special protection against the Evil Eye, but as a conveyor of the re-enforcement of which, in the individual, gives him the strength, among other purposes, to neutralize the effects of the Evil Eye. No less significant is the close association of cowries and gold—another life-giving surrogate—both in Egypt and in China.

Finally, if, as I submit, the vulva is a surrogate of Power, and the cowrie a symbol therefore of Power, and not associated with the vulva in a sexual sense, there is no reason why the cowrie should share in the feeling of repulsion among most Eastern and early peoples against touching a woman's genitalia with "the hand" (MAN, 1939, 165). Being primarily regarded as a symbol of Power it would readily afford the motive force energizing and facilitating economic activities. More research remains to be done, however, and it may be that in certain communities a distinction is made between the cowrie *moneta* and cowries used for ritual purposes. J. H. DRIBERG.  
Cambridge.

#### The Meaning of the Cowrie. (Cf. MAN, 1940, 208.)

**209** SIR,—I feel that it is impertinent on the part of a woman to attempt to explain a woman's psychological re-actions, when such an array of male knowledge of those re-actions is brought against her. I venture, however, still to maintain that a woman's sex-charms are not worn openly, and that therefore the cowrie, which is worn by women on conspicuous parts of the person, cannot represent the female genitalia.

The explanation of the use of the cowrie as a charm, which Mr. Driberg suggests, appears to me too sophisticated. Primitive minds would hardly differentiate between the actual glance of the Evil Eye and the power lying behind the eye. The natural protection against the Evil Eye would surely be the representation of an eye. And I would remind Mr. Driberg that in Ancient Egypt the most common amulet was the Sacred Eye, which was a prophylactic against the Evil Eye, and in its earliest forms is represented as half-closed. M. A. MURRAY.

Cambridge.

#### Bronze Castings found at Igbo. (Cf. MAN, 1940, 1, 138.)

**210** SIR,—Various traditional events are recorded which brought Benin into relationship with the eastern bank of the Niger. It therefore might be expected that the bronzes found at Igbo would have a Bini origin and the following quotation from Mr. H. L. Ward Price, *Land Tenure in the Yoruba Provinces* (Lagos, 1933; p. 97) might appear as some confirmation of this:

"Tradition has it that Odudwa, at Ife, put a certain mixture into the shell of a snail, and gave it to the Oba Godo, who was the first Oba of Benin, as a sign that the land he ruled over was his property. A replica in brass of this shell was kept for hundreds of years at Benin, and produced, when necessary, as the symbol of the Oba's authority. When new territory was conquered by Benin, a small quantity

"of its soil was placed inside the shell and a certain ceremonial performed."

In many respects, however, the Igbo bronzes are most unlike Bini work: for example, in the treatment of the human heads, in the representation of beetles, ~~monkeys~~, flies, and elephants, and in the use of a shell, as on the leopard standing on a snail shell.

This spiral pattern appears on bronze and white metal bell-like objects that are sometimes to be seen in shrines in Ikot Ekpene and Eket divisions, Calabar Province. These were not made locally, and their workmanship is inferior to that of the Igbo bronzes. They are said to have been obtained at some unspecified time past from 'Enugu,' i.e., from northern Ibo territory. Similar 'bells' may be seen in Anam, Onitsha division; and brass is said to be still worked in Udi division. If the Igbo bronzes were recent Ibo work, however, the absence of representations of lizards, tortoises or iron gongs (*ogene*) is curious. The spiral pattern, I believe, appears in Tiv *cire-perdue* work, and in the form of a reversed spiral is on a curious bronze pendant found by Mr. P. Arnaury Talbot in the Ekoi country near Oban: *In the Shadow of the Bush*, p. 172. The reversed spiral, incidentally, is a frequent motif in Tiv decorative work, e.g., in body painting and calabash decorations. The Tiv probably learnt brass work either from the Jukun, who are reported to have had at one time a great reputation for their metal work, or from the Ramun smiths in the Cameroons, as is suggested by Dr. Jeffreys. Igala is another possible source of the Igbo work. Education Department, Lagos.

K. C. MURRAY.

#### The Kombewa Culture.

**211** SIR,—In my description of the above culture in MAN, 1938, 218, it was not possible to state its place in the sequence of Stone Age cultures. I have now found it excellently stratified in a saucer-like depression on the summit of Usenge Hill. It overlies a well-defined stratum of artefacts of the Tumbian-Levalloisian facies, and continues to the surface. There is no break in the rubble comprising the Kombewa stratum, but the lower portion contains only very crude large Kombewa cores, with butts which have no secondary flaking, the majority corresponding to the "natural butts" of my former description.

There would appear, therefore, to have been development in the culture, affecting the preparation of the butt.

On the surface of the depression area, cores occur of a type found in our Aurignacian cultures, together with a very few crudely-backed blades and burins. These also occur on other places on the hill top, always on the surface or an inch or two in the sub-soil. The evidence seems to point to the conclusion that the Kombewa culture comes after the Tumbian-Levalloisian complex, and before the local Aurignacian forms.

A tentative geological dating would appear to be as follows:—assuming as proved that the Levalloisian forms fall into Part I of the Gambian Pluvial period, then the Kombewan comes into the intra-pluvial between Parts I and II. The rise of the level of Lake Victoria, as shown by water-worn pebbles and artefacts, in both Parts I and II was above the highest point of the neck of land joining the peninsula of Usenge with the mainland, and rendered the hill inaccessible.

The opinion of Professor van Riet Lowe and Mr. Burkitt that it was probably a Middle Stone Age culture, would seem to be confirmed by the evidence which has now come to light. W. E. OWEN.

Ng'ya, P.O. Yala, Kisumu, Kenya.





**AN OPEN-STAND POTTERY LAMP FROM WEST WALES.**

*By the courtesy of the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff.*

# MAN

## A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

XL, 212-230

DECEMBER, 1940.

### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

With Plate M.

**AN OPEN-STAND POTTERY LAMP FROM WEST WALES.** *By Iorwerth C. Peate, M.A., F.S.A., Keeper of Folk Culture and Industries, National Museum of Wales, Cardiff.*

**212** A pottery lamp of interesting type has recently been added to the Welsh Folk Collections in the National Museum of Wales. This lamp (Plate M) is of rough gravelly red earthenware, decorated in part with a white slip and covered with a yellowish glaze. The lamp, which is  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches high, has an open saucer bowl (diameter  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches) with a small spout or lip: this is set on a stem which terminates in a shallow circular dish (or drip-bowl, diameter  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches) which also has a lip. The loop handle is attached to the back of the bowl and the stem. The lamp has been thrown on a potter's wheel.

Several years ago the donor of the lamp lived at New Quay, Cardiganshire, where it was given him by an old lady who lived 'in a neighbouring village.' Unfortunately the donor cannot recall the name of the village, and no further information concerning the origin of the lamp is available.

From the point of view of craftsmanship, the lamp can be of Welsh folk manufacture. The clay, slip, and glaze are of a type used in Welsh rural potteries, but I have seen no other example in Wales of such a lamp.

In *The Story of the Lamp* (Oxford 1939), pp. 99-103, F. W. Robins discusses the origin and distribution of this form, and the reader is referred to this volume for a full discussion. I am indebted to Mr. Robins for his expert opinion on which the following paragraph is based. Only in Cornwall did this type survive until modern times in this island. An example in the Penzance Museum was used at Zennor down to 1860 and another in the Truro Museum is dated about 1852. The pottery and decoration of the Welsh example, states Mr. Robins, are new to him. "Swedish examples are usually in plain brown glaze. The two Cornish examples I have seen are, in Penzance, red-brown, and in Truro, greenish-brown glaze, but a fragment of one I have is rough unglazed black ware. I have never seen this type decorated or with a whitish or yellowish slip. A white slip occurs of course in Italian specimens, but the bowls are different in these." In Swedish examples, Mr. Robins informs me, the handle generally springs from the back of the bowl and finishes at the drip bowl: in the Cornish examples, the handle springs from and ends on the stem.

However, in the *Transactions of the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society*, XIV, 1921, p. xii, the following is mentioned as a gift to the Society's Museum:—"A green-glazed ware cresset or lamp, 8" in height, diameter of base  $6\frac{1}{2}$ ". From a shallow saucer-base with lip rises a plain circular hollow shaft, supporting a cup with lip,  $3\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter with plain bow only from mid shaft to rim of cup. Found in a cellar at Llanstephan [Carmarthenshire]." This lamp, which I have not examined, appears to compare very closely with the Cardiganshire example.

The present lamp is approximately of the same type as the Cornish examples (known as 'chills') and, in form, the Truro specimen, Mr. Robins states, is a close parallel; but this Cardiganshire lamp

'seems too decorative for a Cornish chill.' Mr. Robins concludes that the specimen belongs definitely in type and character to the northern European group (Cornwall, Holland, Hungary, Sweden, Switzerland) of open-stand lamps and that it may be native to Wales. The present writer would welcome further information concerning any unrecorded Welsh—or British—examples of such lamps.

*P.S.*—Since this note was written the coarser particles in the clay of this lamp have been

submitted to my colleague, Dr. F. J. North, F.G.S., Keeper of the Department of Geology in the National Museum of Wales, for his inspection. He reports:—"The coarser particles include scales of the mineral biotite and this suggests that the material is not of Welsh origin. I do not know of any sand in Wales likely to be used by potters that contains biotite in any marked quantity."

I am indebted to the Editor of MAN for drawing my attention to the possibility of such an examination.

#### THE RELIGION OF A NON-CHINESE TRIBE OF YUNNAN. *By C. P. Fitzgerald.*

**213** The Min Chia, whose religious beliefs and practices are the subject of this paper, are a large non-Chinese people occupying a wide tract of country about 250 miles east of the Sino-Burman border, and about the same distance west of Kun Ming or Yunnanfu, the capital of Yunnan. The city and plain of Ta Li is the centre of the Min Chia country and the traditional home of the race. Ta Li is a small city, built, like most towns in Yunnan on a lake plateau, a narrow strip of fertile land bordered on one side by the Er-H Hai lake, a sheet of water thirty miles long by about three to five across, and on the other by the Tsang Shan mountains, which rise to 14,000 feet or nearly 8,000 feet above the plain and lake which are at 6,700 feet.

Like most of the Yunnan lake plateaux, that of Ta Li is cut off from the neighbouring centres of population by tracts of wooded, uninhabited, mountain land, which in some directions may extend for as much as fifty miles. The Min Chia are thus not in close contact with the Chinese colonists to the east or the Na Khi tribe to the north, and though they have been under Chinese rule for six centuries, they still retain many peculiar characteristics, as well as a language which differs widely from Chinese. It is only in the political sense of forming part of the Chinese state that the Min Chia can be said to be under Chinese rule. The Chinese in Yunnan do not now form a ruling caste in any real sense. There is political and social equality between the Yunnanese of all races, provided they have accepted Chinese culture to some degree.

The Min Chia acceptance of Chinese culture is less complete than outward appearances indicate. This is nowhere more apparent than in religion and the practices connected with it. It is usually

said that the Chinese, and other peoples who have adopted their culture, practise three religions, Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism. This is a statement on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle, for unless it be explained in what way a man practises three contradictory religions, one has not got very much farther. It may be added that of these three religions, while Buddhism is a more or less precise term, Taoism and Confucianism are words of such vague import as to be practically meaningless. Taoism can mean, either an ancient philosophic system of quietism in no way closely related to any religious system, or a less ancient system of magic and astrology designed to discover the secret of immortality, or yet again the official polytheistic religion instituted by the Sung Emperors in the twelfth century, or finally any polytheistic religious practice or belief not easily classified as Buddhism. It is in this last sense that it is most often used. Similarly Confucianism can mean either the ethical code and political doctrine taught by Confucius and his disciples, which explicitly excluded all religious instruction and discussion, or the rites of ancestor worship practised by all Chinese families, or finally the imperial cult of Heaven of which the Chinese Emperors were the sole priests. These three things are in origin and practice wholly separate, the only link between them being that they are neither Buddhist nor Taoist.

The Min Chia are acquainted with a form of Buddhism, they worship a number of non-Buddhist deities, which cannot and should not be identified with Taoism, and they practise the rites of ancestor-worship. It may be said then, that none the less the Min Chia do have three religions. I do not think that any Min Chia, or for that matter any Chinese who had not studied



the religious system of the west, would understand that statement. "Three ways to one Goal," he might reply in the words of the well-known proverb, but it is not likely that he would have clearly formulated what the goal was. As observed in practice, Buddhism means to the Min Chia the worship, on certain set festivals, of the greater Boddhisatvas, such as Kuan Yin, who are, in fact, thought of as specialized gods of Mercy, or of the underworld, or as the special protectors of women and as the givers of sons. The fact that Buddhist theology goes farther than this, or that the worship of other deities is incompatible with it, is simply ignored. If one seeks for some distinction in Min Chia practice between the Buddhist Boddhisatvas and the local gods unassociated with Buddhism, it may be found in this, that the Boddhisatvas are accorded in popular belief a wider and more abstract sphere of power, Kuan Yin is the Goddess of Mercy to all and everywhere, whereas the Dragon King of the Lake is only lord of the Lake and all that is in or on it, his power extending no farther than the shore.

Similarly the Mountain God rules over Tsang Shan and his power begins at the uncultivated slopes, where on every upward path he has a simple stone shrine. There are also a few so-called Taoist temples, dedicated to Yu Huang, the Jade Emperor, the chief deity of official Taoism. These were founded by the Chinese authorities in times past carrying out the standing regulation for the worship of all deities officially recognized by the Court. They are not served by Taoist priests, for none exist in the Min Chia region, and to-day such temples, except where as is often the case they have become associated with the Mountain God, or the Dragon King of the Lake, have simply been transformed into country retreats maintained by associations of the wealthy gentry in charge of lay caretakers. This does not prevent those in charge of them from announcing a festival, and inviting the people to come and burn incense and worship the deity, for it is by such means that funds are obtained, and the Min Chia peasant women enjoy festivals and will worship any god without inquiring into his actual sphere of power, or trying to reconcile the conflicting theologies.

The worship of the Buddhist Boddhisatvas, local deities, and some Taoist deities thus forms in practice one religion, served by the same rite—burning incense before the shrine—and attended

by the same people, mostly women and girls. It may be contrasted with Ancestor Worship, in which women play a less active rôle, and which is a private family affair without public festivals or temples. In theory Buddhism and ancestor-worship are contradictory, since to the Buddhist, who should believe in reincarnation, the history of the family in which he happens to be born this time cannot matter, and to the ancestor-worshipper the theory of reincarnation is a denial of the survival in another world of the ancestral spirits, and therefore of the foundation belief of his cult; yet in practice, as the Buddhist theology is not an operative belief, this contradiction is not troublesome to the Min Chia mind. The plan of a Buddhist temple, a series of courtyards with many separate shrines, precludes any communal service. Before every shrine large bonfires of incense sticks are lit and an embroidered cloth is spread to receive the offerings of the faithful, which is the openly avowed real purpose of the festival. The worshippers, four fifths of whom are women, cast sticks of incense on the fires—*ke tou*—knock the head three or four times on the ground before the shrine, and throw a *cash* or two on to the embroidered cloth. They repeat this act of worship before as many of the shrines as they feel inclined, or have the *cash* to offer, often passing over those of the less important Boddhisatvas in the side courts. At the gates monks of the temple do a brisk trade, selling incense sticks and charms to put on doors and walls.

There are also associations of old women who have taken a vow of partial or total abstinence from meat-eating, and these form special groups round an altar which they themselves have set up in a corner of the courtyard. Here they stand in a half-circle chanting *sutras* and feeding the flames of their own incense fire at intervals, while they keep time to their chanting on little gongs and wooden fish-shaped drums. These associations exist for the purpose of acquiring extra merit individually, and have little or no special relation to the deity or Boddhisatva of the particular temple at which they are worshipping. These women are not priestesses of the goddess, for the same group perform the same rites at the temple of the Dragon King of the Lake, who is a local Min Chia deity, and at the temple of the Mountain God, also a local deity, and at the shrine of Tung Yueh, Taoist king of the

under world, as well as at this Buddhist monastery of Kuan Yin, the Goddess of Mercy. Were they permitted, I have no doubt they would gladly perform at the Catholic and Protestant Churches also.

It would perhaps be too definite a statement to say that while women worship the gods, the rites of ancestor-worship are confined to the men, but a certain broad division along these lines does, in fact, exist. At the festivals in the temples, whether Buddhist or polytheistic, women are predominant and though men are present in large numbers also, only a few perform acts of worship. The ceremonies of ancestor-worship are performed only in the home or at the graves of the family concerned, and in these rites, while women are in no sense excluded, men play the most prominent part. These ceremonies being private cannot be photographed, the more so as they are often held at night. One of the most elaborate of the rites of ancestor-worship called *Shu Bao*, or 'burning the bundles,' takes place on the evening of the 15th of the 7th Lunar Month, a date corresponding to the 19th of August (in 1937), but varying slightly each year with the Lunar calendar. Although this is probably of Chinese origin, I am told that in other parts of China it is now rare. In *Ta Li* it is still universally carried out both by *Min Chia* and Chinese.

The purpose of the rite is to dismiss the ancestral spirits after their annual sojourn of fourteen days in the home, a sojourn which lasts from the 1st to the 15th day of the seventh month.

The ceremony begins at dusk, about 7 p.m. in that season at *Ta Li*. An altar, which is really a square table used at other times for meals, is set up in the courtyard in front of the main hall of the house, which is in the centre of the south-facing wing. The table is covered with a piece of richly-embroidered red silk and spread with dishes of cooked food, and six cups of Chinese rice-wine. An incense-burner flanked by two lighted candles is placed in the middle of the altar, and a brazier with a wood fire is placed in front of it on the courtyard floor. Around this fire several sticks of incense are stuck into the cracks between the flag stones.

All the family is present, men and women as well as children, but though they wear good clothes they are not dressed in any elaborate or

unusual way. The head of the family, or failing him the senior male present, kneels on a cushion at the right of the altar facing south. One of the women, or perhaps a child, hands him bundles of imitation books, that is to say, cardboard boxes made to look like Chinese books, on the outside of which are written the name, age, date of birth and death, of each deceased male member of the family and of their wives. Each ancestor has at least one book, but those of importance may have several books, inscribed in an identical manner apparently to emphasize their importance. The head of the family takes these books and reads out the inscriptions separately in a chanting voice. As he finishes each book, he lays it down and from time to time, one of the children takes up a pile of them and drops them into the wood fire; and one of the women, not the old mother, but a younger woman, wife or concubine, throws strings of paper money painted to represent silver coins or ingots on to the fire. This performance is repeated until all the book bundles are burned, and in the families where I witnessed the rite it took nearly two hours to read out and burn all the bundles, the dead so commemorated going back nine or ten generations and numbering over a hundred persons. When the last bundle has been burnt, the head of the family rises and, facing the altar, bows three times, while the women in turn, the mother first, the children last, and even the baby in arms at the end, kneel down and *kotou* three times behind the altar. The head of the family then pours the cups of wine on to the ground in front of the altar, and takes pinches of the cooked food and sweetmeats from the altar and scatters them on the fire. All then go to the street door and discharge fire-crackers there, and light several sticks of incense which are stuck into the door jambs and steps. This concludes the rite. The fire is dowsed, the women clear away the altar and dishes. The Spirits have departed.

The whole atmosphere of this ceremony is in marked contrast to that of the public festivals and the behaviour of those present quite different to that assumed at a temple. There is no talking or laughing, no spitting or casual behaviour of any kind, and the scene lit by the firelight and the candles is very impressive.

The same reverent behaviour may be observed in the daily ancestral rites at the altar of the ancestors before each of the two meals.

A festival characteristic of the third element in the Min Chia religion, the element which is neither Buddhist nor connected with ancestral worship, is the Gwer Sa La, a dance-festival held in the villages along the shore of the lake north of Ta Li, on the 25th of the Fourth Month, a date corresponding to the end of May. This festival is thus held in the short interval between the gathering of the wheat harvest and the transplanting of the rice seedlings. Young men from the villages south of the city, who the day before have assembled in the village of Hur Chieh, twelve miles north of Ta Li, array themselves in fantastic costumes, which in some ways resemble the dress of women. They start early in the morning from Hur Chieh and proceed through all the villages of the lake shore until they reach Mer Ger Yu, not far from Ta Li, where the rites end. At each village or at a crossroads they stop and dance in pairs, with a reeling gait, lolling their heads, grimacing and striking each other with fly-whisks or cleft willow-wands with a coin fixed in the crack. As they dance, they half-sing, half-declaim in a high-pitched, unnatural voice, their remarks being lewd, as is shown by the laughter of the spectators. This performance is repeated in all the villages on the road, the dancers being accompanied by musicians who wear willow boughs on their heads. Many of the spectators also carry willow branches, and all have small circular paper charms pasted on to the sides of their heads. Woollen amulets in the shape of a human body are sold to be hung round the necks of children. The dancers wear their clothes awry and their attitudes simulate drunkenness or ecstacy.

The last dance is always given by each party in the open square of Mer Ger Yu village, where the performance ends and where the dancers and musicians as they finish are served with a feast. Thereupon, without waiting for the end of the proceedings, they disperse to their homes.

The last act of the festival is somewhat different. At about four in the afternoon the tablet of the village ancestor of Mer Ger Yu is brought out of its temple on a decorated litter similar to a bride's sodan-chair; that is to say, with similar decorations of red paper flowers, and is carried in procession, attended by a number of people of the village and other spectators, to a point about one mile from the village of Mer Ger Yu, at the edge of the Mer Ger Yu villagers' lands. Here the

tablet and its attendants wait for the last party of dancers, and when these arrive, return to Mer Ger Yu accompanied by the whole crowd of spectators waving willow boughs and preceded by the dancers and musicians, the former dancing more or less continuously the whole way into the village, where the final dance takes place in front of the temple of the village ancestor. Then the tablet is taken into the temple, the dancers and musicians have their feast, and everyone goes home as darkness begins to fall.

The significance of this rite is not at all plain even to many Min Chia, for rather contradictory explanations are given by different people. I may say that the local government frowns upon it, but although proclamations against it were posted in 1936 the prohibition was in no way enforced, and in the two subsequent years no actual prohibition was published and no steps taken to suppress the performance. The reason given for official disapproval is the lewd character of the dancers' remarks. Most Min Chia deny that these words should be interpreted in this sense, but are not able to explain just why words obscene in one context should not be considered so on this occasion. Here perhaps one can detect a feeling that the sacred character of the occasion, or of those uttering the words, absolves them from conforming to the ordinary standards of behaviour. The usual explanation of the rite is that it is done to bring benefit to the rice crop, but, if one asks what deity is being invoked, no consistent explanation is forthcoming, some saying that the Village Ancestor of Mer Ger Yu, who certainly plays an important rôle in the final scene, is the god so honoured, others saying no deity is concerned and that the final rite at Mer Ger Yu is merely to honour the Ancestor of that village; but when asked 'why only that village' they have no answer.

Although no Min Chia will admit it, or even willingly refer to the fact, the dancing at this festival is, in fact, identical with the performance given by a class of exorcists, known as *sai dser*, Min Chia words which may mean 'westerners,' although I have not met any Min Chia who admitted knowing what they did in fact mean. These *sai dser* are called in cases of sickness, to dance out the demon. I was once able to witness this performance, which, though common enough, is not advertised and is regarded as rather secret, and, by the educated people, as shameful.

There were two *sai dser* present, both men, though one was dressed as a woman. Their dance, which was accompanied by an old man with a flute, was in every way like that done at Gwer Sa La, except for the fact that one dancer wore woman's clothes. They tapped each other with rods or fly-whisks and made the same or similar lewd remarks in a high-pitched voice, singing snatches of song or chanting in a nasal tone and a slurring manner so that the words were unintelligible not only to me but to the Min Chia present also.

Unfortunately they positively refused to let me take any photographs and would not repeat any of their chants afterwards, declaring that these were secrets which cannot be told to outsiders.

They explained their performance as a means of enticing the demon of sickness to leave the body of the sick person, in this instance a young boy, but they were unwilling to talk about it, and few Min Chia know, or if they know will not tell about the *sai dser* and their arts. They do not form a special caste or profession doing nothing else, but undertake this work of exorcism as well as their ordinary farming. On the other hand, they claim to be hereditary, which may well include the practice of adoption, as with the Shamans of Mongolia. I was also told that the *sai dser*, when consulted in a case of sickness do not by any means always perform their dance. More often they recommend the patient or his relatives to sacrifice at the shrine of some local deity such as the Mountain God, the Lake Dragon, or at the Tomb of the Soldiers of Kublai Khan, who fell at the taking of Ta Li in the thirteenth century, a spot which is a place of

sacrifice for sick persons. The rite there is to break a pottery bowl, kill a chicken and smear some of the blood and feathers on the stones at the base of the tomb mound, then cook and eat the chicken on the spot, incense being burned before the tomb at the same time. The *sai dser*, however, never recommend sacrifice (which would, of course, be very contrary to Buddhist teaching) at a Buddhist temple.

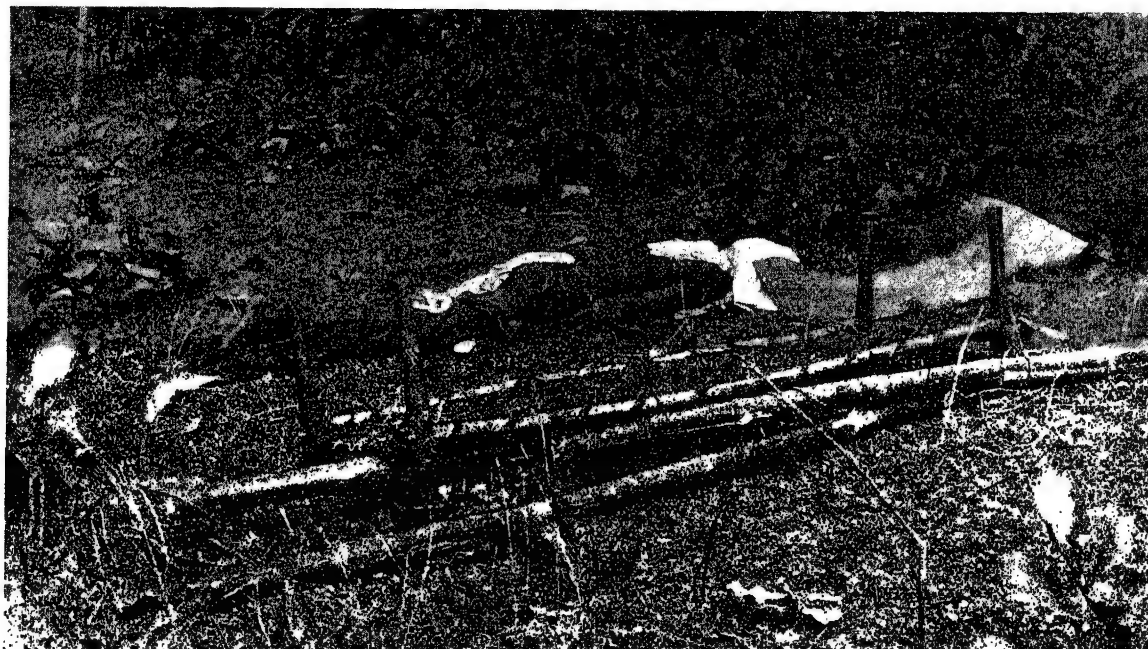
These three rites or ceremonies have been chosen to illustrate aspects of the three religions of the Min Chia or, rather, the three elements in the one religion recognized by the people themselves. To the European observer the differences between the Festival of Kuan Yin at a Buddhist Temple, the Burning of the Book Bundles in a private home, and the Dancing at the Gwer Sa La by the lake shore are considerable and some of these differences could be shown to be the result of contacts between distinct cultures; but to the Min Chia all are only the differing rites appropriate on various occasions. The religion of this people, like their culture as a whole, is obviously and demonstrably the result of adaptation and adoptions from long contact with Chinese civilization; but they themselves do not know it. Chinese culture has (so to speak) seeped in gently and slowly, changing and being changed so gradually and with so little use of force or authority that the Min Chia neither are, nor feel themselves to be, a subject people, and regard those things which differentiate them from the Chinese as local variations of Chinese civilization, not as national characteristics to cherish and develop. In Yunnan one discovers, with a blessed sense of relief, that nationalism is still unborn.

**DISPOSAL BY EXPOSURE AMONG THE BATHURIS OF MAYURBHANJ STATE.<sup>1</sup>** *By Tarak Chandra Das, M.A. Illustrated.*

**214** On the 20th January, 1939, the author and Mr. M. N. Bose of the Department of Anthropology, University of Calcutta, went on a visit to the palæolithic sites recently discovered at Kuliana and near-about in the Mayurbhanj State, Orissa, India. Mr. N. K. Bose and Mr. D. Sen, our colleagues, who were conducting the excavation work at Kuliana informed us that they had been able to discover two new sites of considerable dimension within two miles of

Kuliana. In both these areas tools were visible *in situ* and they also pointed out that implements had been found on the surface in various other places within a radius roughly of five miles of Kuliana. On the 20th afternoon Messrs. Bose and Sen showed us the excavated pits at Kuliana and the newly discovered site at Kalabaria and proposed that we should visit the other important site at Nuabaria on the next morning. On the 21st morning we started for Nuabaria and Mr. Bose expressed his intention to show us two types of oil-press (*gondī-jāt* and *patā* or *rāni-jāt*)

<sup>1</sup> This note was read before the Anthropological Society, Calcutta University, February 7, 1940.



DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD BY EXPOSURE AMONG THE BATHURIS OF MAYURBHANJ STATE, ORISSA.

on our way. With this view he selected a circuitous route through Souri and Panijia. We first went to Souri, a Bathuri village, situated, a little towards the north, from the ninth mile on the main road from Baripada to Bangriposi. Proceeding through this village towards the east, we reached Panijia in a few minutes. The two villages are almost adjacent. Panijia is also a Bathuri village of no mean size. While passing through the main street of this village we were attracted by the loud wailings of an old woman. On inquiry it transpired that her only son—a lad of about 18—had died that morning and the body had been removed for disposal immediately before our arrival. We saw fresh marks of cowdung solution sprinkled on the way over which the corpse had been carried. We at once decided not to miss this opportunity of seeing an actual Bathuri funeral. With the help of our guides we secured the assistance of two Bathuris of the village—one of them was the father's sister's husband of the deceased—to lead us to the place of disposal. In a few minutes we reached a place where we found the funeral party sitting in a field of *āsan* stumps (*Terminalia tomentosa*) on which tusser cocoons had been reared. They had already

finished their business and were returning to the village. The short time they had been away from the village led us to inquire about the method of disposal. They told us that they had merely left the body on the ground at the fringe of the forest-block which could be seen from the spot where we were standing. This raised our curiosity to the highest pitch, and we asked one of them to take us to the spot. But this they were not willing to do, as each of them asked the other to accompany us. Evidently they were afraid of something, may be, of the spirit of the deceased. Later on, we came to know that the members of the funeral party never return to the spot again on the same day after having left the place at the end of the disposal. Not only so, they, as well as others who come to know of the fact, never visit this place for months together. However, we could somehow or other induce the father's brother of the deceased, a man of about 50, to show us the spot. Soon we reached the place, which was about half a mile towards the east from the 12th post on the 42nd mile of the railway line between Baripada and Bangriposi.

On arrival we found the dead body lying on its belly in the midst of a sparse jungle of *sāl* (*Shorea*



robusta), *mahuā* (*Bassia latifolia*), *āsan* (*Terminalia tomentosa*) and other trees on the western side of a low ridge—not even 300 ft. from ploughed fields towards the west.

From what we heard from the relatives of the boy, he appeared to have suffered from an attack of pneumonia (*barkamphi* as they described it) and expired at the end of a week. Thus the body showed little signs of emaciation. It lay with its head pointing towards the north; the two forearms together with the palms were beneath the belly while the upper arms lay on the sides. We could not see the face as it lay against the ground, and the head, from the neck upwards, was covered with a piece of cloth. A cotton upper garment, coloured yellow and with designs printed in black, lay beneath the body; this the boy used while alive. He wore a *lenguti* between the thighs, the back end of which was found tucked beneath the waist-string. The latter—a cotton string which is usually worn by every man in this part—was found cut on one side. This, our guide informed us, was done at the time of disposal of the body by some one of the party. An iron ring, evidently with a number of dummy keys, hung from this string and we were informed that the lad used to wear it while alive, perhaps as a piece of ornament to enhance his personal charms. The cotton upper-garment as well as the *lenguti* were articles of personal use of the boy. A few inches towards the east of the body lay a string bedstead (*chārpoy*) in an upturned position. On this the lad used to sleep, and it had been employed to carry his body to the funeral ground. About five or six feet from the body, towards the east again, we found a winnowing fan—an old one which evidently was in use in the family of the deceased. On it were the following articles:—

- (1) Two celluloid combs—most probably of Japanese manufacture—one of white colour with a handle and the other pale-red but without handle. Both were used by the lad.
- (2) A small basket of bamboo-splits with about quarter of a seer (about half a pound) of newly harvested paddy grains. These grains, we were told, were the products of his field where he used to labour hard. As he did not survive to enjoy the fruits of his labour, a quantity of these grains had been placed on the winnowing fan.

(3) Two cakes of soap—one white and the other red—which he used in his lifetime.

(4) A little oil of the *mahuā* (*Bassia latifolia*) seed in a leaf-cup with a wick made from some fibre. The wick, however, was not lit.

(5) A piece of small looking-glass, which he used.

(6) A booklet containing fragments of a poem written in Uriya script. This, we were informed, he used to read now and then.

The red comb, the booklet, the two cakes of soap, and the looking-glass were placed on a flat bamboo-split basket which again was placed on the winnowing fan. A little away from the winnowing fan was an earthen pitcher—an old one—containing some water in it. A date-palm leaf-mat was found near the head. On this he used to lie. Our Bathuri guides told us that these things were left on the spot, as the parents of the boy would feel pain if they happen to look on these objects of daily use of their beloved son. This, of course, fits in well with the circumstances. But there is another possible explanation—they might have been offered for the use of the spirit of the deceased in the other world. There are instances of such offerings among the tribal peoples of Chota Nagpur and Orissa. When we suggested this explanation our Bathuri guides denied its existence among them. Only once the uncle of the deceased gave out that these objects were meant for the use of the spirit of the dead person. But soon he corrected himself and stuck up to the original ground. We made further inquiries on this point later on and found the same sort of reply. But personally we have reasons to believe that the Bathuris hold the belief in question at present, or held it not long ago. The offerings at the place of disposal referred to above are the relics as well as proofs of such a belief. We, however, could not trace the reason why they persistently denied its existence among them. It does not militate against Hindu ideas and beliefs of after-life, and the Bathuris are comparatively recent acquisitions to the Hindu social fold.

We have recorded that the dead body lay on its belly. This was due to an accident. It is their custom, on such occasions, to place the body on its left side with the eyes looking towards the east. This has been corroborated from two independent sources. But in this particular case there seems to have been some mishandling:



the body was laid on its right side with the eyes looking towards the west. But, owing to the slope of the ground being towards the west, or perhaps the body was not properly propped, it fell on its belly and lay in that state when we visited it. There were marks of earth on its right upper arm proving the truth of the statement of the funeral party. The uncle of the deceased attributed the mistake to their ignorance; but this sounds untrustworthy, as the party consisted of men of mature years who must have witnessed such cases of disposal many times in their life. It may, on the other hand, be due to excessive fear, from which all of them appeared to have been suffering even in broad daylight, with the sun almost on the meridian.

On our return from this place by a different route we found the funeral party assembled near a tank at the outskirts of the village where other people were also either bathing or washing their clothes. The father's sister's husband of the boy, who only accompanied us as our guide and did not take any part in the disposal, was found returning to the village after taking his bath. So far we observed ourselves; the rest of the account was collected from informants.

Sada Naik of Panijia, a Bathuri of about 60 years of age, was our main informant. He was an old man of very amiable disposition, always willing to help us in our inquiry. The deceased, who was named Bhagrathi, was his nephew. Sada, besides his agricultural activities, also practises as a *Kavirāj* (physician). He learnt his art from his uncle who is long dead. Generally he uses medicinal plants as remedies for various kinds of illness and never takes recourse to incantations or other magical rites and practices, which are the stock-in-trade of the *guniyās*. Sada treated Bhagrathi, though without success, and we were further informed that a *guniyā* was also called in. But the latter also could not resist the calamity. Sada told us that the Bathuris practise cremation, burial, and exposure in disposing the dead body. Old men and women are usually cremated or buried. Babies are generally disposed by exposure. But when anybody suffers from any one of the following diseases, namely, tuberculosis, leprosy, small-pox and cholera, whatever his or her age may be, he or she is exposed. But in actual practice we found that this rule is not strictly observed. Thus, Bhagrathi did not die of any one of the diseases mentioned above, yet his

body was exposed. Sada's son Satrugna, a young man of similar age, who died last year after suffering from fever for about 15 days, was also exposed. These two cases militate against the rule cited by Sada. The local Hindus of Kuliana often derisively referred to the Bathuris as a people who throw away their dead bodies. These facts perhaps indicate that disposal by exposure has at present become the usual method of funeral, in spite of the social ideal to resort to it under particular circumstances only. But this conclusion requires further verification.

The Bathuris form an important group in Mayurbhanj State. They number, according to the last Census Operations, 46,212. They have adopted Hindu manners and customs together with the Brahmin priest. Their main occupation is agriculture. The high-caste Hindus of the locality have accepted the Bathuris as a Hindu caste, but have relegated them to a very low position in Hindu society. The Bathuris observe death-pollution for ten days in case of cremation or burial, and fifteen days in case of exposure-disposal. The following edible things are tabooed to the agnatic family during this period:—(1) Fish of all kinds; (2) meat of all kinds; (3) eggs; (4) milk; (5) clarified butter (*ghee*); (7) curd; (8) tamarind and other things of sour taste (*tak*); (9) onions; (10) garlic. During this period nobody will take any food in this house. In case of burial or cremation, on the 10th day, the barber shaves the beard of the male members of the agnatic group, the washerman washes the clothes, and the members of the family themselves besmear turmeric paste and mustard oil on their body, and bathe in a tank or stream. In case of exposure-disposal this is performed on the 15th day. On the 11th or 16th day, as the case may be, the Brahmin priest comes to the house and performs the *śrādh* ceremony by burning clarified butter on fire and he receives the following articles as formal gifts:—*Usna* rice, *ātap* rice, areca-nuts, *kaṣāphal* (myrobalanus), *masnā* (mat), a bell-metal cup, a piece of lower garment for the male, a brass pot if possible, pulse, plantains, etc. Besides these, he also receives *dakshinā* (remuneration) which varies from Rs. 2/- to Rs. 6/- or so, according to the means of the family. On this day he is also sumptuously fed. On the 12th or 17th day, as the case may be, the relatives and friends of the family are invited to a feast. On this day, fish is served to the members of the

family, and all the taboos are removed. This ceremony is known as *bhāt-ghar*. The widow, however, wears a white cloth without any border throughout her life, or till she remarries. Death by accident or suicide is treated in the same manner. In case of death in pregnancy, the husband has to rip open the womb of the deceased, and separate the child, before disposal.

We have not attempted any discussion as to the origin of the custom of exposure-disposal among the Bathuris. Two alternatives may, however, be suggested—either it is a relic of their old tribal life or they have derived it from the Hindus. But there are difficulties in either assumption. We do not meet with any reference to this type of disposal among the Pre-Dravidian tribes of

Chota Nagpur and Orissa, though it occurs among the Veddas of Ceylon. Nearer home, of course, we find it in Assam and further east, *e.g.*, among the Ao Nagas. On the other hand, the Hindus of modern times do not practise it except in the case of snake-bite. But there are references to this custom in the Vedic literature and the Parsis who represent the Iranian branch of the Aryan culture still practise this type of disposal. In the *Mahābhārata*, again, we meet with a reference to it in the *Gridhra-Jambuka Saṃbād* as well as a special type of it, namely tree-burial, in the *Birāt-parva*. I am indebted to Prof. H. C. Chakladar for these references. These facts are to be taken into consideration before we pass the final judgment on this topic.

**A MUSICAL POT FROM SOUTHERN NIGERIA.** By M. W. D. Jeffreys, M.A., Ph.D., Bamenda, Cameroons. Illustrated.

**215** Among the Igbo and Ibibio of Southern Nigeria the deep subaudition of the bass-drum is often provided by the use of a musical

pot. These pots are specially made for the purpose. They are normal water pots but with a special hole made in the side as will be seen from



FIG. 1. TWO MUSICAL POTS FROM SOUTHERN NIGERIA.  
Copyright, Wellcome Historical Medical Museum.

the illustration. In the orchestra for the dance the striker sits on a small wooden stool with the musical pot resting on the ground and the aperture in the belly of the pot facing to the left.

The mouth of the pot is struck either with the open palm of the right hand or else with the fibrous end of the male inflorescence of the oil palm. This produces a very deep, dull, booming bass-note, which is stopped down, modulated, or checked, by applying the palm of the left hand to the hole in the belly of the pot.

The design on pot No. 120843 suggests an ornamentation copied from a structure, namely

a string carrier such as those still in use in the Cameroons and of which exact replicas were found in use in the XVII dynasty in Ancient Egypt. Such carrying string nets are illustrated in MAN, 1909, 76; and Mr. R. U. Sayce, *Primitive Arts and Crafts*, 1933, p. 85, draws attention to ornaments copying structure.

The two pots, illustrated here, are in the Wellcome Museum, and form part of a large collection of ethnological material collected over a period of twelve years.

I would be glad of any information on the use of similar musical pots in other localities.

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE : PROCEEDINGS.

**216** Damage to the Institute's premises in recent night bombing raids has not been sufficient to interrupt any of the facilities, which continue to be provided as in peace-time.

The Council has now adopted a revised plan of activity to conform to the peculiar conditions at present obtaining. Long distance travel to and from London is neither so practicable nor so desirable on public grounds as formerly, and, while Fellows resident far from the capital will be welcome as before at the Institute, no inducement will be put in their way to make special journeys; the ordinary activities of the Institute will, however, be carried on for the benefit of the London members (who may be reminded that the duties of the citizen call for due relaxation, and that the study, through books and lectures, of a science so relevant to war and post-war conditions as anthropology is no waste of time, however pleasant). The staff will regard it as a duty to cater for the needs of Fellows and their guests to the best of their power. Lectures will be held as usual, but notices will not be sent to Fellows resident out of London, except on their express request or when they are known to be interested in particular papers. Books may still be borrowed by post, though there may be inevitable delays in transit. The Institute will close only in time for the staff to reach their homes before the incidence of the blackout with its attendant circumstances.

### Publication of MAN, 1941.

**217** The Council has agreed that in view of the need for economy of paper, MAN shall be published in 1941 in bi-monthly parts. The general arrangement of each part, and the subscription price—for Fellows of the Institute, ten shillings; for others, one pound—will remain as before. The number of pages and of illustrations must depend on the income from subscriptions.

On the maintenance of MAN depends the Institute's ability to obtain by exchange many of the smaller anthropological periodicals; and provision must be made for overtaking arrears of such exchanges when conditions become normal.

Subscribers are therefore invited to renew their subscriptions, and also to obtain additional support, both from Fellows of the Institute and from others.

**218** The following meetings have been arranged and papers presented:—

**Tuesday, 22 October.** *The Elements of African Religion.* J. H. DRIEBERG, M.A. (Cambridge).

**Tuesday, 12 November.** *The History of Women's Costume in Crete and Mycenae.* Miss EDITH STIASSNY (Prague University): A survey of the earliest traces of cloth in these regions, comparing them with those of the various other prehistoric periods, and with some more recent costumes of the Balkans. This meeting was open by invitation to members of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

**Tuesday, 26 November.** *Huxley Memorial Lecture. The Study of Prehistoric Times.* H. J. E. PEAKE, M.A., F.S.A.

**The History of Women's Costume in Crete and Mycenae.** (A survey of the earliest traces of clothing in those regions, and notes on those of the various other prehistoric periods and on some more recent costumes of the Balkans.)

**219** *Summary of a communication made by Edith Stiassny on 12th November, 1940, and illustrated by lantern slides.*

The earliest proofs of clothing that we possess are to be seen on Late Palaeolithic sculptures. Naturally, no actual dresses of this period have survived. Real dress-material is first found as a result of the preservative action of tannic acid in the wooden sarcophagi of the Early Bronze Age in Denmark, which contained male and female corpses fully dressed.

Rock paintings from the Late Palaeolithic Period in South-East Spain give evidence of the clothing worn at this early epoch. Stone Age man had already made a difference between male and female costume. The women wore wide skirts whose cut reminds us very much of those used by the Cretan and Mycenaean women.

Monuments from Assyria and Babylonia, which go back to the third and even the fourth millennium B.C., show men and women similarly dressed. They are either wearing a flounced skirt beginning at the hips and covering the feet or a dress made in the same way that covers the whole body.

The principal connecting link between Western Asiatic and Cretan costume is to be found in Cyprus, where we see the flounced dress on cylinder-seals and on a Mycenaean vase from Curium. Malta with its Neolithic clay figures of clothed women is also a bond between these two regions.

The richest development, however, of the flounced skirt is to be seen in Crete. The first examples are on figures of the Early Minoan Period and the most elaborate dresses on faience figures from the Temple-Repository at Knossos of Middle Minoan III. On Cretan territory the design of the women's frock remains in principle always the same; in later periods this becomes more elaborate and refined, but the cut does not undergo any essential changes and it even is less complicated than we might expect in a more advanced civilization.

The Minoan dress is also to be found on the Greek mainland. Dresses from Mycenae show exactly the same style as those from Crete. With regard to the cut we can here distinguish two types: one very narrow, cut out of one piece, and another consisting of skirt and jacket. Both these types developed independently side by side.

The originally Western Asiatic bell-shaped skirt does not by any means end with the examples from Crete and Mycenae; and its development goes on in different parts of the world. We may probably assume that Cretan and Mycenaean merchants went to the Balkans and a result of this closer contact

derived from the exchange of their goods for those of strange peoples was that each also imported habits and customs of each other. The inhabitants of the Balkans, being closest to Greece, probably thus became acquainted with the fashion of Crete and Mycenae, and adapted it according to their own taste and needs. Statuettes mostly of the Late Bronze Age demonstrate the close relationship between their garments and those of Crete and Mycenae.

Survivals of the Cretan and Mycenaean dress can be traced even as late as the Early Iron Age in Central Europe. Female figures dressed in a crinoline-like skirt are engraved on urns from Oedenburg in Hungary and urns bearing female clay figures clad in a short wide skirt from Gemeinlebarn in Lower Austria are also examples.

In summary we can state that the development of the Minoan costume was on the whole homogeneous and that it was subject only to minor changes due probably to the social position of the wearer. The Cretan woman's skirt owes its origin to a prototype in Western Asia, and I am inclined to think of a common East-Mediterranean-Western-Asiatic costume. The Mycenaean people obviously received the style of their clothing from Crete, and they influenced the culture of their hinterland. The similarity of the dresses in the Balkans is thus comprehensible. It is interesting to note that the old Cretan and Mycenaean bell-shaped skirt has survived in a very similar form in North Albania even to our own days.

With regard to the question whether the Minoan costume is still preserved on Crete itself, I have discovered that the women in Anogia wear a special garment which might be a survival of a prehistoric fashion.

## REVIEWS.

### SOCIOLOGY.

**The Economic Life of Primitive Peoples.** By Professor Melville J. Herskovits. Chicago (Knopf), 1940. xii + 492 + xxviii pp. Price \$4.50.

Professor Herskovits' substantial book on primitive economics not only fills a gap in anthropological literature, but an even greater one in the literature of economics. It is divided into six parts. After two introductory chapters in which the author considers the differences between machine and machine-less economics and the price of progress, for the satisfaction of achievement tends to be absent in machine economics, Prof. Herskovits examines successively Production, Exchange and Distribution, Property, and the Economic Surplus. His conclusions are presented in the sixth part. In regard to Production the author stresses the fact that primitive cultures differ from our own mainly in psychological compensation, while environment is a limiting rather than a determining force. He justly maintains, too, that primitive people are not essentially more conservative than are civilized. Human beings in general are reluctant to modify their customary modes of behaviour, but it happens that 'in our own society the centres of sanctioned change lie in the fields of material, culture and technology.' He also exposes effectively, in spite of the inadequacy of data on the amount of work actually performed by primitives, the baselessness of

the supposition that the savage is incapable of hard and sustained work.

The author's sane outlook is well indicated by his remarks on the origin of division of labour by sexes. "It is futile," he says, "... to explain ... sexual division of labour in a particular instance by reference to any one generalization." At the same time, his criticism of Buxton (p. 106) is perhaps hardly justified, since women where weaving is a part-time household occupation do remain weavers, while men take their place, at any rate in India, when weaving has become a whole-time occupation on which livelihood depends. It is perhaps just this industrial factor again, rather than an intimate association with wheeled vehicles, that has made the potter a male wherever the wheel is used. Spinning, in this reviewer's experience, is mostly practised by women only, where spinning and weaving are part-time household occupations.

Again in writing of the gift exchange, barter, and trade Professor Herskovits is eminently objective. He stresses the fact that categories of this kind can only be used with reservation, since the difference between purchase and gift exchange, for instance, is likely to be in the main a matter of emphasis. The same consideration clearly applies to the question of bride-price, where, though the bride herself be not purchased, the

right to breed from her is generally implicitly and sometimes specifically paid for. Some difficulty seems to have been experienced in finding instances of what is called 'muthun', where 'some commodity takes first rank as an indicator of value.' Cattle, the gayal (*Bos frontalis*), that is, are regularly used in the Assam hills, where the coconut constitutes 'one muthun' is so generally accepted that all sorts of civil and criminal payments can be quoted by it, while its exchange value in coin has occasionally to be varied by the administration according as cash is plentiful or scarce in the district. In the Nicobars coconuts are regularly used, in pairs, as 'money-barter.'

In dealing with Money and Wealth the author makes the point that in the determination of values, as in most other aspects of primitive economics, procedure and institutions are much more generalized than in industrialized societies, where economic processes have led to the development of clearly defined economic institutions. This is to be seen with particular clarity in the concept of property, which term must be 'exalted into an abstraction' when employed of societies other than one's own. In regard to land he comes to the conclusion that in primitive societies comparative lack of economic surplus causes the emphasis to be laid rather on the products of land than on the land itself. The concept of private property in general varies according to the ability to make and use resources productively, and with the work put into them. But the basic difference between primitive and civilized economies is one of degree rather than of kind. This applies, for instance, to the economic surplus, for prestige and satisfaction attach in the most civilized societies to an indulgence in the use of wealth which is no whit less 'conspicuous waste' than that which characterizes, for example, the potlatch. In both cases it tends to secure the position of the favoured individual.

The work throughout is marked by a very sane objectivity which rejects alike the extremist views of evolutionists, economic determinists, and functionalists. 'In no society is the individual entirely subordinated to his group . . . in no group is complete individualism the rule.' A quantitative approach to economic problems is a necessity, and it is important that anthropologists divest themselves of a sociological bias 'when studying economic phenomena.' One may perhaps carp at the use of the expression 'forger' for one who works a forge, and there are sentences (e.g., at the top of p. 62) which are not too easy to follow, but the work as a whole is scholarly, and that of a thinker who is no less an economist than he is an anthropologist.

J. H. HUTTON.

**Kindred and Affinity as Impediments to Marriage ; being the Report of a Commission appointed by His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.**  
 London (S.P.C.K.), 1940. 156 pp. Price 2s. 6d.

This Commission was appointed in 1937 "to consider the subject of the impediments to marriage constituted by certain relationships of consanguinity and affinity." A previous Commission on 'the Church and Marriage' had noted anomalies of exegesis and legislation, and emphasized the view that the Church, "in going to the heathen, brought a Gospel of the Family as one of the blessings of Christianity," but was beset with difficulties caused by the "Table of Kindred and Affinity" familiar to careful readers of the Book of Common Prayer. Earlier inquiries by a Royal Commission in 1847 had doubted "whether any measure of a prohibitory character could be effectual," because "it is not the state of the law" but mutual attachment of the parties, "which has governed, or, as

"we think, ever will effectually govern them"; and by 1937 both Houses of the two Convocations had recommended the revision of the 'Table' drawn up by Calvin, and adopted in England under Archbishop Parker, long before either biology, or anthropology, or historical criticism of the Bible, had anything to say on the matter.

"The Church of the twentieth century should take account of the results of these studies," (p. 14); the first three sections of the Report deal respectively with them, and in appendices are papers by Professor J. B. S. Haldane on the biological considerations, by Dr. Ernest Jones on the more important diseases in which factors have been shown to be present, and by Professor Malinowski's "Sociological Analysis of the Rationale of the Prohibited Degrees in Marriage." Canon Danby follows, on the "Scriptural Background," Jewish law and usage, other early Semitic usage, and the explicit treatment of the subject in the Koran (iv. 23). Other essays deal with Prohibited Degrees in the Western and in the Eastern Church, and on the present legal position. One may hope that the paper of Dr. Ernest Jones, on "Psychoanalysis and Incest," to which reference is made (p. 141) may be accessible elsewhere.

In the light of these data and their own studies, the Commissioners find that "the value of the prohibitions" against marriage of near kindred "remains undisputed. They preserve the decency, the unity, and the continuity of the family," (p. 21) and these considerations are some "acknowledged in the general conscience of mankind," others "transitory and local" (p. 27); New Testament passages are not all conclusive (p. 28); the Church, "raised a great argument, some of which it pulled down again . . . in accordance with certain new ideas," some "adopted from the Roman civil law, and all relative to the Church's own 'Gospel of the Family'." These ideas found expression in legislative acts; at the Council in Rome (721 A.D.), for example, Gregory II extended the prohibition of marriage to the whole extent of the family as defined in Roman Law, and equated affinity with consanguinity in this regard; and this had effect till 1918 A.D. In the East, prohibitions were extended more slowly, but 'logic overreached itself' in the East, as legislation had done in the West. The "common sense of Innocent IV reduced the impediments, on both sides, from the seventh to the fourth degree, and cut down the impediments of affinity . . . the fifteenth century dispensations expressed a change of opinion about Scriptural prohibitions and Luther and Calvin differed in their interpretation of Leviticus; Henry VIII followed Luther, but Archbishop Parker was guided by Calvin. The Council of Trent hardly went beyond detailed amendment. In the last hundred years the tendency has been to diminish impediments, in West and East alike.

Analysing the reasons for the legislation of the Church, recent revisions of opinion, law and practice, and modern secular legislation, the Commission discusses in turn the Levitical and Christian legislation, classifies the traditional impediments, and types of dispensation, and examines occasions of clash between Church law and State law, especially in Missionary Churches within heathen States, and in the Church within States which oppose Christianity or are irreconcilable with it. Recommendations, and a revised constitutional Table follow: and the Appendices already noted are supplemented by an exhaustive index.

Quite apart from its intrinsic interest to citizens, whether Christian by profession or not, this Commission's Report should be studied carefully by students of anthropology, as a model of scientific treatment of a problem in a 'higher' civilization.

J. L. M.



**The Negro Family in the United States.** By E. Franklin Frazier. University of Chicago Press, 1939. xxvii + 686 pp. Price £1. (\$4).

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This book represents the culmination of a program of research on which Professor Frazier has been engaged for some years. It treats of the background and present organization of the Negro family in the United States, which takes on aspects that mark it off from the family structures typical of the majority group, and thus make it an important subject for research.

The book, in its organization, follows the historical development of the Negro family. Its first section considers the "family" theory, stressing the demoralization which resulted from the lack of inner control, and the fortuitous nature of the 'marriage' relationship, when a man or wife could be sold away from a spouse at the whim of a master. The importance of the mother in this situation is analyzed, and leads to the second section which treats of the Negro family immediately following emancipation. This is held to have constituted a 'matriarchate,' with the older women holding the essential power over younger mothers and grandchildren.

The third part discusses the rise of the 'paternal' family, which is regarded as an index of increasing accommodation to majority norms of family life. Here the husband and father is the focus of power within the family, his position deriving essentially from his rôle as economic mainstay. The final two parts discuss the more recent disorganization of Negro family life incident upon the migration of the past two decades, particularly to urban communities both North and South. The re-accommodation of these folk to their new social environment is illuminatingly discussed, particularly in those chapters which treat of 'The Black Middle Class' and 'The Black Proletariat.'

The book is carefully documented with various tables and charts, and has an elaborate bibliography. It is a model sociological presentation, and will for many years undoubtedly be the standard work in its special field. The most serious criticism to be levelled against it concerns the reluctance of the author to admit of any historical relationship between family organization of Negroes in the United States and the African background from which their ancestors were derived. Were this reluctance based on an adequate acquaintance with the literature of West Africa, one might be less uneasy concerning the author's conclusions. In fact, however, that the author, with neither the personal experience of the Africanist, nor an extensive control of materials in the literature, has missed some of the traits in American Negro family life which, to another observer, might indicate that African tradition is more viable than he seems to think. The implications of this point of view on his part are sometimes unfortunate, but can readily be discounted when the book is used by a reader having an adequate background in the field of African ethnology.

M. J. H.

**Hopousia: or the Sexual and Economic Foundations of a New Society.** By J. D. Unwin. With introduction by Aldous Huxley and Preface by Y. J. Lubbock. London (Allen and Unwin) 1940.

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476 pp. Price 21s.

Readers of *Sex and Culture*, 1934, will know what to expect in this book, and will deplore the premature death of the author in 1936, which has made it necessary to piece together what he had written, with the help of notes, but also to omit a sequel which might have thrown much light on the whole. The very title was provisional.

On completing *Sex and Culture* the author had to consider what the social, political and economic structure,

of such a society as he contemplated, would be. To this hypothetical or experimental society he gave provisionally the name 'Hopousia'—'existence somewhere,' the positive optimist counterpart of More's *Utopia*—'no-place.' Events in the material process of the world, he argues—if Eddington is right in his understanding of the 'second law of thermodynamics'—"must occur in a certain direction. We must conclude that this is God's Purpose. A purpose involves a Will... therefore it is the Will and Purpose of God that the material process shall take a certain direction and no other." The cultural process also "has direction," but as to human society, "unlike a nebula it can choose, and according to the nature of its choice, it helps to fulfil or thwart God's Purpose": and it is God's Purpose that it should behave so. The greater a society's energy, the more it hastens fulfilment. To understand the structure and doings of such a society, "it will be necessary to consider the structure of societies in general, and the relations between the individual, the group and the society" (pp. 8-9).

How these relations are conceived, the book itself shows, at least in outline. As existing societies are based on 'Four Economic Follies,' which in Hopousian society are eliminated, the conclusions are unconventional, but none the less provocative. Much of the discussion inevitably turns on the use of material resources, and challenges conventional economics. How Hopousia may be realized is not so clear. Though 'the human organism itself creates the cultural process' it needs to be explained why, historically, human organisms have created cultural processes which are so far from Hopousian (p. 355); and if "there is no anarchy in the cultural process" (p. 421), why all our tears? "Human destiny is within human control." But how are we to control it?

As in other Hopousias and Utopias, *de minimis curat lex*; there are notes, for instance, on auditors, theatres, hotels, and teachers; all suggestive, and based on the Hopousian view that "all payment is made in return for a display of energy and for no other reason at all," which sounds only too familiar—and unregarded.

Inevitably anthropological illustrations are sought, and found, for various Hopousian views and practices, usually with discretion. But it is not for its anthropological details that this book is noted here.

J. L. M.

**Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction: Studies in Modern Social Structure.** By

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Karl Mannheim. London (Kegan Paul), 1940.

xxiv + 420 pp. Price 16s. 6d.

Though its subject falls a little beyond the conventional limits of anthropology, this able book is noted briefly as a valuable guide to clear thinking on questions which begin to be asked as soon as any community begins to contemplate itself and take thought for its present and its future. It is based on the author's well-known *Mensch und Gesellschaft im Zeitalter der Umbaus* (Leiden 1935), but has been revised and considerably enlarged by the author, who is now a member of the London School of Economics and Political Science. That some of the forecasts made in the original book have been confirmed by events will commend it to many, and not least because the author writes so cautiously (p. xxii) about the possibility of forecast in the social sciences at all. "Written from the point of view of a man for whom freedom and personal responsibility were the highest of all values" (p. 5), it has outlived a phase of scepticism inevitable in such experience as his. In the temporary security of this country, there has been a similar temptation to



optimism; but in essentials the outlook is that of "sober investigation of the causes of the disease," of which *laissez-faire* and "planless regulation, in the last century, were perhaps rather symptoms than cause. "What is felt to be indispensable is a psychology which will be socially and historically relevant" (p. 15). For rational and irrational elements are in conflict; if plan-

ning be one remedy for current ills there is a further question: "Who plans the planner?" (p. 78); for the problem is nothing less than that of 'transforming man.' To anticipate the book's argument further is no duty of a reviewer. It must be read, and should be read, by students of anthropology, no less than by thoughtful citizens.

J. L. M.

### PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY.

**Contributions to the Anthropology of Iran.** By Henry Field, Chicago, 1939. *Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Series, Vols. 29, 1, 2: Vol. 1, pp. 1-508, 20 text figures and map; Vol. 11, 509-706 pp., 4 text figures, containing 8 Appendices, Bibliography, Indexes and 144 Plates; Supplement, 2 Maps.*

The nucleus of this book is a report of the work done by Dr. Field in Iran during August and September, 1934, in continuation of his longer work in Iraq, of which the results are to be published this year. He measured 299 'Irani' men; they fall into six groups, 99 Jews of Isfahan, 43 villagers of Yazd-i-Khast (Yazd-i-Khwasht) 80 miles south of Isfahan, 43 villagers of Kinareh near Persepolis, 53 Lurs of the Hassan Kuli Tribe from the Pusht-i-kuh, employed as porters at Bagdad, 18 workmen excavating at Rayy, and 7 miscellaneous. After eliminating unsuitable subjects he gives 13 measurements of 243 persons and photographs (full face and profile) of 190.

The Isfahan Jews are of general interest for the question of the relation of Jews to the people of the country in which they live: as against ordinary Iranians they are marked by lower stature, broader heads, and large acicuprine noses. A comparison of the Caucasus Jews, shows these to have shorter and much broader heads, and a lower nasal index.

The Yazd-i-Khast villagers are the longest-headed Iranians, leptorrhine, yet with wide cheek bones; the type is Mediterranean with some mixture of Alpine or Armenoid, or 'Pseudo-Nordic' with the specifically Iranian convex nose: the stature is low with a short trunk.

The Kinareh villagers were about equally dolichocephalic and mesocephalic; faces, some short and some long; noses, straight to aquiline, some broadish, others narrow; stature, medium; a coarse Mediterranean type and another Atlanto-Mediterranean.

The Lurs were all young and muscular or they could not have been porters; they were quite distinct from the plateau villagers, noticeably taller, particularly through greater trunk length; heads, long and narrow, but wide foreheads, and narrow noses.

The Rayy workmen came mostly from Damghan and Sultanabad; the latter taller with medium heads, the Damghan with broad heads; nose, short in both groups. Perhaps there is Turkoman admixture at Damghan. It is impossible to summarize the tables of measurements which are presented in every kind of sorting to meet all conceivable requirements.

Round this nucleus of his own work in observing and measuring, Dr. Field and his assistants have grouped all possible information bearing on the anthropology of Iran. Chapter II gives a short account of the land, flora, and fauna, with detailed appendices; Chapter III, pp. 36-158, sets out the historical references to its peoples from Herodotus to Herzfeld and is made much more useful by an *index raisonné*, pp. 601-651, collecting together what each author says about each tribe, so that one can conveniently compare their contradictions. The supplementary maps of Iraq and Iran define their position, as they have never been defined before.

Chapter V, pp. 257 to 507, first gives the scanty

information so far gained from excavations, then sets forth the author's methods, and gives the facts summarized above. Finally, he compares the Iranian types he has found with those of surrounding peoples, and endeavours to set the Iranians in their place among them. And for these Iranians he claims no unimportant place.

He points out that the centre of the peripheral sites in which early *homo sapiens* has been found is actually Iran, and prophesies that in Iran he will be found and that in it he will prove to have originated. Further, he points out that Iran is the middle of the belt of Mediterranean man extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific and after accounting for the 'Iranian Plateau Brachycephals' by Proto-Alpine, Armenoid, or Turkoman admixtures, he declares his 'Iranian Plateau Dolichocephals' to be "a new, fundamental division of the White race" to "take its place beside the long-accepted Nordic, Mediterranean and Alpine races."

The specification of this race is: stature, medium; body, light and slender; skin, light to medium brown; head-hair, dark brown, wavy; beard, medium; body-hair, much; head, very long and narrow; forehead, high, sloping; brow-ridges, strong; face long and narrow; facial structure, bony; eyes, brown; molars, prominent; nose, large, high, moderately broad, convex; nasal tip, depressed, thin to medium; alae, strongly recurved; jaw, square; chin, prominent.

The convex nose is the special point; the question is whether this is sufficiently distinctive to mark out a fundamental division of the white race, or only a variety of Mediterranean man.

See Dr. Field's papers in *The Asiatic Review*, July, 1939, and in *Asia*, April, 1940.

We must have several more expeditions to measure people in various parts of Iran with the same care as Dr. Field (in Appendix B Dr. Herzfeld makes valuable suggestions for areas demanding anthropometric study): then we shall be able to define the Iranian types, but no one need do again the collection of information and comparison of views so admirably ordered by him.

I have not space to give their due to the most excellent photographs on the 143 plates—a few landscapes and buildings, and the great series of human types.

ELLIS H. MINNS.

**The Races of Central Europe.** By G. M. Morant. London: Allen & Unwin, 1939. 163 pp. Price 5s.

**226** The rational organization of human society can only be achieved on the basis of a scientific knowledge of humanity and its needs, and it is the duty of anthropologists to present this knowledge in an acceptable form as soon as it becomes available. No one doubts now that for years the public conscience has been gulled and misled by skilful appeals to the doctrine of 'race,' and it is also certain that for years anthropologists have been aware of the confusion which has resulted from loose thinking and also from deliberate mis-statements on the subject. Occasionally one anthropologist or another has expostulated, but what has been most needed is a carefully prepared statement on the racial problems of Central Europe from the point of

view of the biologist; for, in so far as 'race' is a biological concept, its implications must primarily be the concern of the biologist.

Dr. Morant's book supplies this need at a very appropriate moment. He summarizes all the evidence which is available for the physical anthropologist in the assessment of racial differences and racial similarities—cephalic indices, stature, skin, hair and eye colour, form of hair, blood-groups, and so forth. This evidence leads to the conclusion that distinctions between races in Central Europe mean no more than very small differences between averages, that when the language map is accepted as a racial map the differences between populations are raised to a fictitious maximum, and that this exaggeration is admirably adapted to serve certain political ends.

Dr. Morant gives a clear exposition of a difficult subject, and his book is the more valuable since he can speak with considerable authority.

W. E. LE GROS CLARK.

**Know This of Race.** By Cedric Dover. London: Secker & Warburg, 1939. 110 pp. Price 2s. 6d.

**227** The author covers ground which is familiar to anthropologists in contrasting what is known of race with the absurd claims put forward by Nordic enthusiasts and others. Unfortunately he is not content to let the facts speak for themselves, but must make of them a weapon to attack the wicked capitalists, who are responsible not merely for all false views of race, but even for the existence of the Oedipus complex, of which race hatred is one of the manifestations (p. 102).

The author's history is a little shaky. It is (e.g.) improbable that "many Phœnicians grew wealthy by 'exploiting the tin mines of Lund (London)'" (p. 28).

RAGLAN.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

**The Meaning of the Cowrie.** (Cf. MAN, 1940, 208.)

**228** SIR,—There is one point in regard to the values attached to the cowry with which Mr. Driberg does not deal in his letter. In Assam, as in Borneo and in Melanesia (and probably elsewhere), cowries are made to do duty as eyes, in the first instance in carved representations of the human figure, in the latter two in reconstructed heads built up on skulls. There cannot be the least doubt that in these cases the cowry is simply the 'surrogate,' so to speak, of the human eye, and nothing more. Further he writes incidentally of gold as "another life-giving surrogate"—of what, the vulva? If so, why?

Cambridge. J. H. HUTTON.

**Zacharie le Rouzic: Correction.** (Cf. MAN, 1940, 191.)

**229** In fig 1, showing Mont Saint Michel de Carnac, the building on the left is wrongly described as the Miln-Le Rouzic Museum. It is, in fact, a chapel sacred to St. Michael. The museum is in the village, a quarter of a mile distant.

The editor of MAN expresses his regret for this mistake.

**A Bronze Bell from Onitsha Province, Nigeria.**

**230** SIR,—The bronze bell represented in fig. 1 was seen and photographed by Mr. K. O. Murray in the Nsukka (Ibo) division of the Onitsha Province, Nigeria. According to information given to Mr. Murray by local blacksmiths, such bells are still being made. The general character of the workmanship appears to me to resemble that of the bronzes recently discovered at Igbo in the Awka division of the Onitsha Province, and published in MAN, 1940, 1. G. I. JONES.

FIG. 1. A BRONZE BELL FROM ONITSHA PROVINCE, NIGERIA.





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